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# Sub-Saharan Africa Report

No. 2598



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# ANGOLA RAID PUTS FOCUS ON MUGABE

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 18 Mar 82 pp 6, 8

[Text]

## Embassy Predicts 'Vast Operation'

PARIS — The Angolan Embassy in Paris claimed yesterday that South Africa was preparing major military attacks on Angolan cities, including the capital, Luanda.

In a Press statement quoting "informed sources in Pretoria," the embassy claimed "a calculated 10 000 African troops, led by mercenaries of various nationalities — notably British, Portuguese and American — and directed by South African officers, are preparing to launch vast helicopter-borne military operations on many Angolan cities,

including the capital, Luanda."

It said the objective was "the destruction of strategic economic objectives and the physical liquidation of the principal leaders" of Angola.

It quoted the sources as indicating that Cuban units stationed in Angola would also be attacked.

The plan, it alleged, was being prepared "with the support of certain western circles favourable to Pretoria, in particular those of the United States, Britain and West Germany" — SAPA-AP.

ALTHOUGH operation Super in which 201 Swapo insurgents were killed is regarded by the South African military as a great success, it adds a new dimension to the already intricate Southern African jigsaw.

Several facts emerged from the operation which might have given strategists food for thought.

Certainly the most thought-provoking, although not entirely surprising, fact was tangible proof that Zimbabwe was beginning to aid Swapo in the bush war.

The actual evidence might seem insignificant — some tins of tinned beef, packed in Bulawayo. This, however, was found among foodstuff from the Soviet Union, Denmark and other regular suppliers of Swapo.

## Hardware

A great deal of spanking-new military hardware was also found there, but none had obviously come from Zimbabwe.

Talking to journalists after a visit to the area known as Cambeño where Operation Super had taken place, an authoritative professional soldier such as Major-general Charles Lloyd, commanding officer of the South-West African territory force, had little doubt that Zimbabwean Prime Minister, Mr Robert Mugabe, had indirectly become involved in aiding Swapo.

The general had little doubt that Zimbabwe had become involved and predicted that Zimbabwe would soon also fly arms and ammunition into Angola for Swapo's actions in the territory.

Gen Lloyd was convinced that there was regular liaison between the top echelons of Swapo and the Mugabe government.

It seems inevitable, if one considers that both groups are experts in bush warfare, and both shared strong beliefs about the "liberation" of Africa.

The question in the minds of strategists now should be: should South Africa in any way — by direct military intervention or in other ways — persuade Mr Mugabe that it was not in his best interest.

These are teasers which might only be solved once the extent and duration of Zimbabwean involvement becomes apparent.

### **New areas**

Gen Lloyd said after the raid into Angola: "I think one can assume there will be (Zimbabwean) support (for Swapo) — arms and foodstuff.

The latest find might also be an indication that Swapo is adamant to activate Kaokoland, a huge piece of land in north-western South West Africa which is populated by a little more than 20 000 people.

According to latest surveys, most of the population, the Himba, are concentrated in a few spots where water and grazing is to be had.

There are huge pieces of depopulated land in Kaokoland where insurgents may do as they please for weeks on end without being observed by security forces or anybody else.

Militarists see the attempt by Swapo to establish a major supply camp just north of the Kaokoland border as an attempt to infiltrate the area.

### **Foreign**

Swapo has tried before to make headway in Kaokoland and there were deaths because of landmines and attacks, but the effort was wasted mainly because of the apparently built-in aversion of the Himbas to something as foreign as Swapo.

Strategists in South West Africa and South Africa also see Swapo possibly using Kaokoland as a means to get into Damaraland which is much more central.

It is well-known that Swapo would dearly like to claim a presence as far south as Damaraland.

— Sapa.

## **SWAPO Change of Frontline Manning**

**SEASONED** journalists who visited the area in Southern Angola where 201 Swapo insurgents were killed by security forces in Operation Super left the scene with a feeling of nausea and futility.

Bodies were strewn in ravines and make-shift shelters erected in the new camp.

In the words of a colleague: "Those who were found near their shelters were probably making a last stand and those in the ravines were probably running away."

Three young men of the security forces also died in the action.

It is often not realised that many young Swapo terrorists have been lured across the Angolan border with promises of better education. They are then sent back into South West Africa half-trained and often against their will.

Often in the past, boys who should be sitting on the school benches were found among the dead after a skirmish with the security forces.



It seems now that Swapo mixes its novices with experienced men. Those whose bodies we saw were mostly mature men.

The bodies were so bloated, however and the stench so all-encompassing that one could not trust one's own judgment as to the age of the men slain.

A third group seldom recognised in the bush war are the journalists and the cameramen who cover the events.

It is not often realised how difficult it is for a television team to lug their heavy equipment

in the tropical heat to where the scene of action is.

Reporters often use three different types of aircraft in a day while covering an operation such as Super.

We have to go unarmed, although security forces at all times provide excellent protection to journalists in their charge.

There is a standing joke among war correspondents: "There is normally no time to show a terrorist your press identity card."

The South African Air Force is probably

one of the best in the world and most military writers will agree with that.

But little things do happen: Yesterday it took much longer than the estimated time to fly back from the operational area. There were a few anxious moments when unconfirmed reports circulated among the passengers that there was a technical problem.

This could not be confirmed, but the trip was rounded off by one of the smoothest landings I have experienced.

Zim Aid

[Editorial]

**HUNDREDS of tins of corned beef, with labels stating that they were packed in Bulawayo, have been found at a Swapo base which South West Africa security forces have attacked 22 km inside Angola.**

**Major-General Lloyd, the officer commanding the military forces in South West Africa, says this is not the only evidence of the Mugabe Government's support of Swapo.**

**But he is not prepared to discuss it as it is not part of the current Operation Super. We think it is a pity he doesn't do so. The supply of tinned beef is not in itself a great contribution to Swapo's forces, but if arms or any other military supplies are being sent by Mr Mugabe, we should be told.**

**Mr Mugabe has thus far claimed that he is supporting "liberation" movements morally and internationally, but has stopped short of military aid.**

**If he is involved, we should warn him to desist before Zimbabwe gets hurt, one way or another.**

CSO: 4700/972

DETAILS ON ANSTI UNIVERSITY INTAKE GIVEN

Dar es Salaam DAILY NEWS in English 5 Mar 82 p 3

[Article by Simeon Ileta]

[Text]

THE University of Dar es Salaam will enrol 15 students from several African countries for post-graduate studies in water resources engineering in the coming academic year (1982/83) under the African Network of Science and Technology Institutions (ANSTI) project.

The ANSTI Area Coordinator for Tanzania, Dr. S. Gondwe, of the Civil Engineering Department at the university told the *Daily News* yesterday that the university had so far received applications from Tanzania, Ethiopia, Zimbabwe, Sierra Leone, Rwanda and Liberia.

He said they would meet soon to scrutinise the applications and forward names of those qualifying to the ANSTI secretariat in Nairobi for their fellowships to be processed. The new academic year begins in July.

Students from Tanzania who will be enrolled under the project do not qualify for ANSTI fellowship. Their scholarships would have to be met by the government or their sponsors, he said.

Dr Gondwe revealed that three other African Universities would also launch disciplines under the project

this year. They are the University of Lagos, Nigeria (civil engineering), University of Kumasi, Ghana (electronics and power systems) and the University of Lusaka, Zambia (metallurgical engineering).

Academic years for the three universities start in October but they have yet to indicated the number of students they were ready to enrol, he said.

Dr Gondwe, who returned recently from the ANSTI management committee meeting in Nairobi, said the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) provided 24.96 million/- (3.12 million

US dollars) for the UNESCO-initiated project.

The Project, aimed at mobilising African countries to pool their resources in the training of experts, especially in science and technology requires 31.68 million/- (3.69 million US dollars).

Dr Gondwe said the committee called on all the 40 institutions in 25 countries which have so far joined the project to make concerted efforts to secure more funds from their governments for the project.

He said the universities of Yaunde, Cameroon and Nairobi, which had been

assigned to enrol students in agricultural engineering and mechanical and production engineering respectively, had said they were not ready to launch the disciplines this academic year.

Dr. Gondwe said the meeting further assigned the University of Dakar, Senegal, to offer studies in energy and power production, the University of Eduardo Mondlane in Mozambique (chemical engineering) and shifted the mining and geological engineering discipline from Zaire's Lubumbashi University to the University of Zambia. These, however, would not start this year, he added.

The meeting further recommended the expansion of the project to enable it cover physical science and biological science networks.

Effective last month, ANSTI member institutions would be required to subscribe about 8,000/- (1,000 US dollars) annually for running the project, it has been agreed.

Ndugu Gondwe said deans and directors of ANSTI-member institutions will meet in Accra, Ghana, next July to discuss the progress of the project.

## REASONS PROVIDED FOR CLOSENESS TO EASTERN BLOC

Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 14 Feb 82 p 1

[Editorial: "A Realistic Policy"]

[Text] From the very moment the People's Republic of Angola was born, implementation of the policy of national independence and nonalignment--as defined in the master program of the MPLA-Movement--has been the general principle on which all diplomatic actions of the sovereign state of Angola have been based.

Adoption of this realistic policy--which calls for establishment of diplomatic relations with all the nations of the world, regardless of their political and social systems, on the basis of universally accepted principles--does not, however, disregard another principle which recommends the establishment of preferential relations with the socialist countries. Angola--which emerged from the most tumultuous tides of the imperialist war--did not fail to demonstrate unequivocally to the world its commitment to the socialist way of development inspired in the principles of Marxism-Leninism, the political doctrine adopted in 1977 at the first congress of the MPLA as a guideline for action in the process of radical transformation of the social relationships inherited from the anachronistic imperialist system of man's exploitation of man, with the creation of the vanguard party of the Angolan working and peasant classes.

Attainment of the overall objectives of the revolution--as programmed by higher authority--requires, as an objective necessity, special reinforcement of the preferential relations with the parties and nations of the socialist community and the international labor movement, through consolidation of the system of international socialist and communist development.

Today, even the most confirmed enemies of the People's Republic of Angola, its people and scientific socialism are well aware that the dizzying progress recorded in the process of national reconstruction in the RPA [People's Republic of Angola] and in the creation of the technical and material bases for the construction of scientific socialism has been possible because of the cooperation and special attention provided by the socialist countries to the Angolan workers.

The first 5 years of existence of the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation signed in Moscow between the People's Republic of Angola and the Union of

Soviet Socialist Republics, and the various agreements and accords of multi-form cooperation signed with other countries of the socialist community, have served to demonstrate the high level of revolutionary accomplishment of these preferential relations with our natural allies.

It is, moreover, in this context that the First Special Congress of the MPLA-Labor Party has pointed to the strengthening of the cooperation between Angola and the socialist community as an imperative necessity for the victory of the Angolan revolution. The trip made last October by Comrade Jose Eduardo dos Santos, chairman of the MPLA-PT and president of the RPA, to various socialist countries of Europe and Asia, together with the signature of other new treaties of friendship and cooperation with Hungary, Czechoslovakia, democratic Korea and Libya are the most obvious expression of the great historical significance of the harmonious development of the mutually advantageous cooperation between the People's Republic of Angola and its natural allies. The major importance of this cooperation for the Angolan revolution was emphasized recently in the joint Angolan-Soviet communique signed in Moscow, in the stress it laid on the extraordinary significance of the internationalist aid and support accorded by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries to the defense of the revolutionary conquests of the People's Republic of Angola and the more rapid construction of the national economy.

It is therefore more than obvious that the establishment of preferential relations with Angola's natural allies corresponds to the most sacred aspirations of the Angolan people, who regard these relations of multifaceted cooperation as a fundamental condition for the victory of scientific socialism in our country.

The struggle continues!

Victory is certain!

10992

CSC: 4742/220

## BETTER CONTROL DEMANDED FOR COFFEE EXPORTS AGAINST SMUGGLING

Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 4 Mar 82 p 2

[Article by Joao Serra: "Coffee Smuggling"]

[Text] How many tons of coffee illegally leave Angola every year in the hold of the innumerable ships frequenting the country's various ports? Imagine the significance of this precious export product in the Angolan balance of payments, were it to be marketed abroad through the state organisms rather than smuggled!

At this time, when our coffee production is extremely low and is particularly important for our export policy, the indiscriminate smuggling of coffee represents a significant loss in foreign exchange.

One can get an idea of the clandestine export activity by watching how eagerly foreign sailors frequent the various coffee stores in Luanda. Even in the center of the city there is a specialty store with an inordinate traffic of sailors of all nationalities carrying large suitcases.

All this coffee apparently enters the ships with great facility, judging from the permanent demand for this product. The same faces are to be seen, day after day, doing business in the store, which can only mean that either through the gates of the port or using other conduits, this coffee is regularly stowed in the hold of the big ships anchored offshore for months.

Let us suppose that there are never less than 30 ships awaiting to unload outside the port of Luanda for a number of months: it is easy to guess the enormous quantity of coffee illegally leaving the country in the sailors' baggage without any customs control. Thousands of dollars are thus being taken away from Angola's just due.

The ships anchored outside Luanda harbor have long given up adhering to the regulations governing shore leave for the crews. Perhaps because of the overlong waits in port, the use of launches from the ships to the Ilha do Cabo beaches transporting sailors any time of day or night has become customary, without any passport or customs control.

Many of these sailors take advantage of this easy transit to bring back aboard this precious product that can be sold on international markets at a very high price.



Many years ago, because of the high economic value of coffee for Angola, rigorous control was instituted in the Luanda airport, with each passenger allowed 2 kilos of coffee through special authorization by the ENCAFE. Paradoxically, however, sailors freely continue transporting abroad large quantities of coffee, most certainly because of the lack of control in the port of Luanda. Proof of this can be found in the long lines forming outside the small coffee store in the district adjacent to the port, in the large quantities of coffee sold to foreign sailors, and even in other stories circulating over there about the exchange of coffee for blue jeans, foreign cigarettes, etc.

Let's imagine the crews of 30 ships regularly smuggling coffee over a period of, normally, 3 months, during which they pile up the product on board, and we shall therefore get a sad idea of the volume of coffee which is annually smuggled this way.

Coffee happens to be, indeed, one of the country's main sources of hard currency. And if its price on the international market stimulates smuggling, then customs control over its export should be correspondingly tightened.

Increased efficiency in the control exercised at the entrance of the commercial port of Luanda as well as at the sailors' disembarking point at the beach would be enough to drastically reduce the volume of coffee being smuggled.

To control the exit of coffee at the international airport is a useful and desirable way to limit its export. However, at this time, Angola is being robbed through the ships. It is thus necessary to adopt adequate measures.

Coffee is part of the riches of Angola. It cannot continue to feed international smuggling with impunity.

CSO: 4742/244

LISBON PRESS SEGMENT ACCUSED OF SPREADING CALUMNIES

Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 13 Feb 82 p 1

[Editorial: "A Pretentious Presumption"]

[Text] From Lisbon, Portugal, a new and multifaceted campaign appears to be under way to concern oneself--with clear overtones of intervention--once again with the People's Republic of Angola and its people.

The phenomenon is not even original. To some extent everywhere, the prolonged relationship of domination and submission, the bond of language, and the more intensive circulation of persons and interests have always transformed the former "mother countries" into privileged centers of intrigue against the new countries recently emerged from the guardianship of those countries.

The temptations of paternalism, and the frustration and rage of defeat, tend on the other hand to intensify the dubious hope of a "reconquest" and lead some of the more unbalanced among them to deny--even at the linguistic level--what reality has already established as fact. In the view of a certain segment of the reactionary press of Lisbon, the People's Republic of Angola is even today still an "overseas province" of Portugal.

Under a concept--at least ambiguous--of the "freedom of the press," the Portuguese Government has on various occasions responded to the critical reaction of the Angolan authorities with the argument that it has no legal powers to silence the lies and flagrant distortions of the most blatant examples of this segment of the press: O DIA, A TARDE, O CORREIO DA MANHA, O DIABO, and others.

With or without governmental connivance, what is certain is that about 1 month ago--in an orchestration so perfect that it served to unmask the single decision-making source--virtually the entire Portuguese press including the so-called liberal (or even "leftist") segment united in the absurd theory that talks were in progress between representatives of the government of the People's Republic of Angola and certain mercenary "traveling salesmen" for the counterrevolution in southern Africa.

To reinforce this thesis, various Portuguese journalists traveled--at the expense of a North African monarch--to Rabat in order that they might, in

the galleries of the Royal Palace, ponder the "wise, learned and charismatic" words of the principal Angolan lackey of the racists of South Africa.

All this propagandistic folklore was intended to conceal a reality that is very concrete and very down-to-earth. The growing diplomatic isolation of these puppets has been accentuating their umbilical dependency on the racists and demonstrating the obvious fact that they are merely an appendage of the perfidious and racist South Africa--a mere balloon to be blown up or deflated in accordance with the interests and associations of the moment.

This most recent attempt at a publicity campaign by the puppets, however, reached such a level that the Portuguese Government itself on two occasions felt it necessary to issue an official denial of the absurd assertions to the effect that the secretary of state of the Portuguese Ministry of Foreign Affairs will act as a mediator between the government of the People's Republic of Angola and the representatives of the counterrevolutionary bands.

Simultaneously, another--and more covert--action is beginning to take shape whereby Portugal would be given a leading role in all matters relating to the People's Republic of Angola. Three days before Alexander Haig's visit to Lisbon, the U.S. Department of State hastened to announce that "Portugal can play an important role of mediator between the United States and Angola."

In a joint declaration published recently in the Angolan capital, the parties of the People's Republic of Angola and Cuba defined--once more and without leaving any room for doubt--their positions on all the great international questions and on the road that has been chosen--the road of scientific socialism--because it is the form of social organization that satisfies their aspirations.

To attempt--whether by means of the great capitalist press, constituted governments or merely so-called "charitable" organizations--to change or modify these principles is to be grasping at the thin air. More even than a design that is doomed in advance to failure, this attitude implies that one is deceiving oneself with a pretentious...presumption.

The struggle continues!

Victory is certain!

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CSO: 4742/220

## NOISE POLLUTION RISES WITH PEOPLE'S INDIFFERENCE, LACK OF ELEVATORS

Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 3 Mar 82 p 2

[Article by Joao Serra: "Noise Pollution"]

[Text] Luanda is a city without elevators where most of the internal telephone systems in the various buildings broke down long ago, something that complicates the daily life of thousands of residents, for whom the laborious ascent of many floors, many times a day, to solve often unimportant matters has become a sad reality.

One of the results of this state of affairs is the incredible increase of the noise pollution. Cars stridently honk their horns, having hit on this solution as the simplest way to communicate with thousands of people living in tall buildings; this habit has become such a daily routine in the city that it has transformed itself into a kind of complicated wireless system.

It would be interesting, therefore, to analyze the particular psychology of each one of these communication codes by means of car horns. Indians used smoke signals to say those things that drivers today express exclusively through their horns. Boys and girls communicate their feelings simply through a subtle combination of honks. Deals are transacted, whose urgency only allows time for a thin sound that seems to alert one to the fact that "we are late; if we are delayed, the guy will sell the stuff to someone else."

There are other fields, too, where car horns interfere with city life. Their cultural contribution is also worth reporting: "Let's go, the movie must have started already."

In sum, this is almost the ideal combination between the convenience of urban residents in a society always in a hurry and modern automobile technology. But let us examine the tremendous confusion that can be brought about by the strident sound of the horn among a group of persons unprepared to fully comprehend this modern complicated system of sonorous communication.

A car enters a wide avenue at a high rate of speed, abruptly and noisily coming to a stop in front of a tall building, where the driver proceeds to insistently honk the horn, without any apparent logic, in a series of nervous sounds that a number of people in the building believe they recognize.

On the second floor, a young woman still with rollers in her hair dispatches her little brother to the window to see whether it is the cooperant who buys her imported perfume in the store reserved for diplomats and pays the bill in the luxury nightclubs of Luanda. But it's someone else....

On the fourth floor, an ill-humored wife comes to the balcony to find out that her husband is not coming home for dinner, angrily asking: "And what will I do with the food?"

On the fifth floor, where the upsetting sound of the horn is already reaching slightly deformed, a father orders his youngest son: "Go to the window to see who's honking. If it's so-and-so, tell him I'm not here. For sure at this hour he's coming to ask me to substitute for someone who didn't come for his night shift at work."

Meanwhile, on the sixth floor, someone is thinking: "It's surely not for me; who would come to visit me at this late hour and have to climb six floors without even any light on the stairs?"

An optimist lives on the seventh floor. No one ever comes for him, but he always goes to the window to find out who is so insistently honking down there.

A girl on the eighth floor has been waiting for someone, but has changed her plans. She has immediately recognized the horn, but is pretending to be deaf, and happily continues her conversation with a friend on the phone: "The guy has been down there honking his horn for more than half-an-hour. He must be tired by now; perhaps he'll go away. I'll find some excuse tomorrow."

CSO: 4742/244



## BRIEFS

'COUNTERREVOLUTIONARIES' PRESENTED--Huambo--A group of counterrevolutionaries was presented to the public during a mass meeting held in Bailundo Municipality, Huambo Province. The meeting was presided over by the coordinator of the Municipal Committee of the party; also present were other local members of the party, members of the mass organizations, and the residents of Bailundo Municipality. [Excerpt] [Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 14 Feb 82 p 13] 10992

STATE BUDGET FIGURES--The People's Assembly yesterday published the law embodying the General Budget of the State, which law was promulgated by Comrade President Jose Eduardo dos Santos and is in the amount of 102.38 trillion kwanzas. The law begins by stating that the General Budget of the State is the principal financial plan of the nation and emphasizing its importance as an instrument for implementation of the economic and social policy laid down by the MPLA-Labor Party and for execution of such measures as the economic situation may require each year. "The present law," the document states, "has as its objective the imposition of a discipline of austerity during the 1982 fiscal year." The budgetary law moreover provides that in the execution of the General Budget of the State--in effect as from 1 January--the estimate for receipts shall be rigorously observed and the greatest austerity shall be employed in making the expenditures while reducing the latter and perfecting the corresponding control. In conclusion, the document authorizes the minister of finance to establish--in concert with the National Bank of Angola--the program for implementing the loans authorized in the General Budget of the State. The budgetary reserve for the fiscal year 1982 shall be 30 percent. [Text] [Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 13 Feb 82 p 1] 10992

CSO: 4742/220

DETAILS ON REBUILDING OF SAL AIRPORT PROVIDED

Pretoria SOUTH AFRICAN DIGEST in English 5 Mar 82 p 2

[Article by Shirley Pressly]

[Text]

In one of the most unusual operations ever undertaken by South African contractors, LTA Construction have rebuilt the airport on Ilha do Sal, the tiny Cape Verde island familiar to many thousands of passengers who have flown round the "bulge" of Africa.

Ilha do Sal is used as a stop-over, among other airlines, by South African Airways and Russia's Aeroflot, whose offices adjoin each other in the terminal building.

The client was the Department of Transport of the Government of Cape Verde.

The actual R14-million contract was not out of the ordinary — both LTA and the consulting engineers, Van Wyk and Louw, of Pretoria, have been involved in many of South Africa's major contracts involving airports — but the logistics of the project were almost unprecedented in peacetime.

To do the job LTA had to ship 7 000 tons of equipment and materials 8 000km from the Republic to Ilha do Sal off the west coast of Africa.

But this dot on the map has no harbour — only two small wharves and a jetty with water 1,5 metres deep.

So LTA hired two 450-ton barges in Rotterdam and had them towed by deepsea tug 4 500km to the island (at a cost of R100 000).

The equipment was off-loaded onto the barges from the ship and then offloaded again from the flat-bottomed barges on to a wharf.

The contract called for the rehabilitation and overlay of 3,27km of runway, 4,3km of taxiway and linkways and 10 000 m<sup>2</sup> of apron area.

The runway had been deteriorating to the extent that daily maintenance was necessary.

LTA also replaced the runway centre-line lighting, installed lighting for the touch-down zone, put in specially designed risers for the refuelling pits to suit the new overlay, improved the control tower, installed new power plants for the airport's electricity supply, constructed 28 homes for airport staff, put in water reticulation, and built a 100 m<sup>3</sup> reservoir and a desali-

nisation plant (through a subcontractor).

The contractors also resurfaced 16km of road from the airport to Santa Maria, a village with a hotel in which air crews are accommodated.

At Durban LTA loaded a 70-ton crane, an asphalt pre-mix plant capable of processing 100 tons an hour, plus tipper trucks, asphalt rollers, front-end loaders, building materials for the houses, a pre-mix paver, tar and emulsion and many other items.

At Port Elizabeth more cargo was taken aboard, including a complete crushing plant of three units totalling 155 tons, supplied by Construction Quarries.

At Cape Town the ship took on 35 tons of explosives — in special woodlined containers.

From Spain LTA imported 4 500 tons of bitumen.

At the peak of the operation about 60 LTA men — from South Africa, Britain and Portugal — were at work, plus about 200 local labourers.

The contractors crushed 50 000 m<sup>3</sup> of pre-mix stone and laid 95 000 tons of premix asphalt concrete (aggregate mixed with bitumen).

On the volcanic island there is only one outcrop of solid rock suitable as aggregate.

Throughout the contract the runway had to be operational, said Mr Brian Colledge, LTA's project director.

During the day aircraft up to Boeing 707 size landed on the taxiway and at night the runway had to be operational for the jumbo-type airliners.

The contractors maintained continuous radio contact with the control tower to ensure that building activities never hindered flight operations.

CSO: 4700/975

## OFFICIAL IN CUBA LEAVES NO DOUBT ON POLITICAL ORIENTATION

Havana GRANMA in Spanish 17 Feb 82 p 3

[Article by Jose A. de la Osa]

[Text] Kwasi Adu, member of the coordinating committee for the people's defense committees of Ghana stated in Havana to representatives of the national and international press that "we shall never call it a coup, since the process that has been taking place in our country for the last few months is a revolution; we have not replaced people but institutions that oppressed us and we are ready to create structures that can take care of the interests of the people."

Ghana's people's defense committees are an organization that includes various mass organisms such as trade unions, of which Kwasi Adu is a representative at the celebration of the 10th World Federation of Trade Unions congress, which ended on Monday in this capital.

Kwasi Adu denounced the fact that at this time Ghana is under the threat of an armed aggression with the approval of Reagan's government and maintained that "our people has demonstrated that we shall resist any type of invasion."

"We may not have enough arms to do that," he stressed, "but we shall defend ourselves even with bows and arrows."

He added that in spite of the fact that they (the North Americans) have denied it, we know that the possibility of an invasion is very much alive. He went on to say that "we are very pleased to be able to count on the solidarity of countries such as revolutionary Cuba and the Soviet Union, because we do not wish to return to oppression once we have freed ourselves from the oppressive climate under which we used to live."

Kwasi Adu expressed his satisfaction for the fact that his first press conference outside Ghana "since the triumph of our revolution" is being held in revolutionary Cuba. He added that in the period between 1957 and 1966, under the leadership of President Kwame Nkrumah, his country experienced progress, but following the overthrow of the government on the instigation of the United States, "we went back to a retrogressive regime in which civilians and military who succeeded each other in power have all been of the same ilk."

He denounced the activities of the transnational enterprises which control and plunder the riches of his country, whose economy is primarily founded on cocoa and gold exports.

In answer to a question, he said that the government of Ghana has not made any ideological pronouncements on its policies, "however, the various programs undertaken so far leave no doubt as to our position."

CSO: 4748/20



BOAKYE DJAN SEES EWE PREDOMINANCE IN POLICE, ARMED FORCES

London WEST AFRICA in English No 3370, 8 Mar 82 pp 646-647

[Text] Majors Boakye Djan and Mensah Poku, spokesman and member of the then Armed Forces Revolutionary Council, have "categorically" denied receiving \$100,000 each from the People's National Party. In a statement issued in London last month, the two majors took note of the "purported confession by Nana Okutwer Bekoe, former chairman of the PNP of Ghana, now incarcerated in military cells in Ghana" in which Nana Bekoe said the \$200,000 was part of a PNP resettlement plan for ex-AFRC members.

Claiming to "throw light once more" on certain facts relating to their departure from Ghana after the September 1979 handover, Majors Boakye Djan and Mensah Poku said:

"In one of the Press Conferences held by the two of us since the handing over, the present Chief of Defence Staff, Brigadier Nunoo Mensah interviewed all members of the AFRC. At that interview, all members were asked to choose one of three options presented to us. These options were (a) That members could go abroad on courses. (b) That members could proceed on extended leave before rejoining their units. (c) That members could choose to retire and be resettled.

"It is significant to note that at that interview it was the two of us who opted to go abroad on courses. The Ministry of Defence subsequently approved a post-graduate research course in war studies for Major Boakye Djan and a post-graduate course in management studies for Major Mensah Poku, all in London. These two courses were jointly sponsored by the Ministry of Defence and the United Nations Development Fellowship Programme.

"In view of the above adequate arrangements made for us as serving officers on courses abroad, it came to us as a surprise when in January 1980 a representation was made to us in London about a PNP resettlement plan for all AFRC members. According to the details of the plan the former chairman of the AFRC, then retired, was to receive £100,000 in cash, an Estate House at North Kaneshie, Accra and a Peugeot 504 Estate for his resettlement. All AFRC members then abroad were to be offered £50,000 and an Estate House each.

"We, on our part, considered the additional arrangements to be strange and in any case superfluous. We therefore rejected it outright at the Royal Lancaster Hotel where we were invited and informed of the plan in the presence of the following:

- a. Nana Okutwer Bekoe, Chairman, PNP
- b. K.N. Ofori, Treasurer, PNP
- c. Krobo Edusei, leading member, PNP
- d. Kwesi Armah, leading member, PNP
- e. A.S. Abban, leading member, PNP

"As if by intuition and more so as serving officers then, we notified the then Director of Military Intelligence, Ministry of Defence, Accra about the plan, our rejection of it and our reasons for doing so, in a letter dated January 5, 1980. Our position on the plan was summarised in the said letter signed by Major Boakye Djan as follows:

#### Ex-gratia award

My information is that an amount in the region of £50,000 among others and set aside in your Department, is to be paid to me for my role in the June 4 uprising. If my information is correct, this is to inform you that I humbly but firmly decline the offer. I took part, at a considerable risk to my life and my family, in the June 4 exercise to arrest and contain a situation that had dangerous potential for my country. For my reward, I prefer nothing beyond a correct appreciation of my involvement in the exercise.

"All these details are known to Nana Okutwer Bekoe and others; and except for the circumstances under which Nana Bekoe and others find themselves now, one would have been at a loss to find out the real motive behind the secret and purported but false confession of Nana Okutwer Bekoe against us."

In an interview published in the March 1982 issue of Africa Now, Major Boakye Djan described the \$100,000 allegation as "amazing" because among other things "I had planned my exit in such a way that I would have no need for such an amount. Because if I were to go back into the army as I had planned, what would be the need for me to have \$100,000--especially since I was a young major hoping to spend the next 20 years in the army. When one goes back into the army one's movements are highly restricted so having opportunities for spending this money would have been non-existent." He felt the story was being used to discredit him politically.

came to power — presumably meaning he and Major Mensah Poku. As to why, he said Flt-Lt. Rawlings presumably had not wanted them to leave Ghana on courses, that he Boakye Djan had taken a consistent position against the way Rawlings was conducting himself about AFRC matters.

and that "we had fallen out. I presume this is one of the reasons why he is victimising us. But the strange thing is, two of us who happen to come from his ethnic background, have been invited back home: Major Mensah Gbedemah and Corporal Gatsiko."

## "Ewe dominance in Ghana"

*Africa Now* asked Major Boakye Djan how strong ethnic sentiments were in the Ghanaian army. He alleged: "Pretty strong, I must admit. For example, it is common knowledge that, as an ethnic group, the Ewes monopolise the police, public service and the armed forces. Now that Rawlings has become Head of State, they have added political power to administrative power. It is only the skill with which Rawlings handles the Ewes dominance in Ghana that will prevent the holy war he is mounting from degenerating into civil war as happened in the '60s in Nigeria." Major Boakye Djan concluded that there was a "tragic spell" cast on the mission of Flt-Lt. Rawlings.

When contacted by *West Africa* to respond to the statement by Nana Okutwer Bekoe about the alleged \$100,000 payment, and to the allegations made in the letter by Sergeant John Quartey (*West Africa*, March 1), Major Boakye Djan refused to be quoted on anything and complained that *West Africa* had consistently treated him unfairly. *West Africa* has tried in vain for nearly two years to get an interview with Major Boakye Djan in London precisely to afford him a plat-

form to rebut or explain any current allegations against him, or made by him, and to express his views on current events in Ghana for publication.

When asked if he felt civilian rule should not have been interrupted the way it was, Major Boakye Djan said that was precisely what he meant: "I'm not condoning whatever faults the [Limann] administration had. But the thing about democracy is that it assumes that any elected body of people will make mistakes and that at the appropriate time the people must be asked to exercise their judgement either to retain it or to bring in a fresh group of people to carry on the job. To me that is the attraction of democracy."

## Fall-out with Rawlings

On whether he wished to be in Ghana now, Major Boakye Djan said he would wish to have been part of solving Ghana's problems but that, at the same time, "I would have very much wished that I was put there through an elective process so that at the end of the term if Ghanaians felt they still needed me to continue, I would continue."

Major Boakye Djan alleged "our emoluments have been cut off" since the PNDC

CSO: 4700/940

SHAGARI ADDRESSES MEETING OF JAMA'ATU NASRIL ISLAM

Kaduna GASKIYA TA FI KWABO in Hausa 2 Mar 82 p 1

[Text] Religious organizations set up to help the public have been told they will definitely receive federal aid.

President Alhaji Shehu Shagari made this declaration this past Sunday when he opened the Jama'atu Nasril Islam relief organization's conference in Lagos.

At the same time President Shagari expressed concern over organizations that masquerade as helpers of the public, go around collecting lots of money, and then vanish without trace.

President Shagari was pleased, however, with the organizations that do render help in God's name, especially at pilgrimage time when those organizations assist pilgrims both in Nigeria and in Saudi Arabia. He also expressed his pleasure at seeing that about 90 members were all matasa (meaning unknown).

President Shagari also urged the religious organizations to unite to insure peace and prosperity in the nation. Those that are not inclined to do so should be dissolved. For this reason the government is again considering authorizations for organizations wanting to help the public.

President Shagari concluded by reminding the organization of its responsibilities to other Nigerians all of whom it should do its best to help. In that way, he said, we will progress as a nation that cares for the well-being of its people.

Next, Sarki Alhaji Muhammed Kabir, chairman of the national organization, said that the organization has been very successful in all of the activities of its main headquarters, including pilgrimages.

The organization is said now to have 578,000 gown-wearing members in 15 states of the country. Alhaji Muhammad Kabir explained that plans are now complete to install the organization in all the rest of the states this year.

Dignitaries attending the conference included Sheikh Mahmud Abubakar Gummi, Alhaji Lawal Abubakar, Alhaji Sidi Ali Sakkwato and Chief M.K.O. Abiola as well as many other leading personalities from various parts of the country.

CSO: 4797/11

MINISTER, PRESIDENT NOTE COMPLETION OF KUWAITI FINANCED ROAD

President's Speech

Banjul THE GAMBIA TIMES in English 6 Mar 82 p 2

[Excerpt] Honourable Ministers, Distinguished Guest, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I am glad to be with you here today to mark the successful completion of the Soma/Basse Road Project. This was the largest single project ever undertaken in The Gambia and its successful completion represents a major step forward in the development of our beloved country. This magnificent modern road stands as a symbol of my Government's policy to reach out and improve the life standards of the rural population notwithstanding how far away they may be from the seat of Government. [as published]

Good communications are the veins and arteries of a healthy national economy and greatly accelerate the process of development in all fields. Accordingly, my Government attaches great importance and high priority to the improvement and expansion of our communication network, and I am glad to be able to say that considerable success has been made and continues to be made in this direction. Journeys to the Provinces which previously took many hours or indeed days, now take a few hours. As a result the transportation of goods throughout the country has become cheaper, quicker and more efficient. [as published] At the same time the movement of people from various parts of the country to other parts has been greatly facilitated. All these are necessary conditions for the improvement of education, public health, agriculture and every other facet of human endeavour.

Bitumenisation of the Soma/Basse road has increased the total mileage of paved trunk road in the country by 87% and some 56% of the primary road system is now paved.

The Soma/Basse Road Project has resulted in other benefits to the nation. Through our contacts with the Kuwaiti Fund we have obtained the Master Transport Study of The Gambia a very useful planning tool, covering all forms of internal transport and giving the basis of the future policy of transport development. This has led to the project to improve the river wharves and the materialisation of river transport which is due to be implemented this year and also the procurement of external aid from other



agencies for the better maintenance of the highway system. The project also included a training element and we have therefore been able to obtain specialised practical training for several of our young Gambian engineers. The spur road to Georgetown has been improved within the project.

All too often projects tend to fall behind schedules which may be set too ambitiously in the desire to speed up the process of development. It is therefore gratifying to learn from the Honourable Minister of Works and Communications that the Soma/Basse Road project was completed within the time-table set for planning, financing and construction. It is also very pleasing to learn that the project cost was well within the tendered price obtained by international competitive tendering. This indicates a high degree of forward planning by all the ministries concerned and careful attention to detail in the Ministry of Works and Communications and its Public Works Department. I hope that this can be used as an example in all our future development efforts.

#### Minister of Works and Communications' Speech

Banjul THE GAMBIA TIMES in English 6 Mar 82 pp 5, 6

[Excerpt] It is with a sense of considerable pride that I welcome you to this ceremony on the occasion of our Nation's 17th Independence Anniversary celebrations.

In 1977 a firm of Consultants engaged by the Kuwait Fund for Arab Economic Development after making a survey and technical appraisal of the location estimated that a bitumen road from Soma to Basse would cost eighty seven million dalasis. The project has been completed at a figure thirty five million dalasis less than this. I will not say that there has been a saving of thirty five million dalasis because not even the most persuasive and optimistic road engineer could hope that this country could afford eighty seven million on one project.

The vision of a black ribbon of tarmac stretching from Banjul our Capital to Basse our most remote town was created by Your Excellency with your early contracts with our friends and brothers in Kuwait and the Kuwaiti Fund, its Director General and Deputy Director General. This was nourished by your unflagging interest and encouragement throughout all the process of financing, planning and execution. The dream survived through many troubles and problems which were scarcely known outside the small circle of dreamers up till today when the bright dawn is breaking.

The Soma/Basse Road was completed within a very accurate cost estimate; every time deadline was met, every design criteria was realised, every payment due was paid and the vision of a black ribbon from Banjul to Basse is no longer a dream. But roads are made with more than dreams. Your Excellency's example fired the resolve determination and Co-operation of many people and organisations to whom I would now like to pay tribute.

To our Consulting Engineers SWECO, The Swedish Consulting Group who produced a design utilising modern techniques to give a cost effective result that is appropriate to our needs and ensured that our standards and requirements were fully met in the execution, in particular to Mr Carl Ericthekso Project Manager and Mr Rossenberg the Resident Engineer, his site engineers, and staff.

The design speed of the new road is 80 kilomentres per hour and I appeal to all drivers using it to exercise care and sensible driving to achieve our ambitions of improved road safety. Vehicle maintenance costs and fuel costs to users will be dramatically reduced and traffic growth will follow a faster pattern with this new facility.

CSO: 4700/953

BLACKS' ASSESSMENT OF NP SPLIT OFFERED

Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 1 Mar 82 p 6

[Editorial]

[Text]

MANY people were seriously worried by what seemed to be the ultimate victory of the "forces of darkness" in the person of Dr Andries Treurnicht et al, when they walked out of the National Party caucus in Cape Town last week.

The irony is there was a school of thought amongst some black intellectuals that if the right-wingers eventually took over, this would bring the showdown nearer and the final resolution of the South African race dilemma.

Still, there were other blacks who thought Mr PW Botha had at last been set free from the vice-grip of a right-wing radical fringe that was hobbling his moves to reform.

The conclusion, then, was that, whatever happened, this big shake-down paved the way to new things.

It seems Mr Botha has played his cards very close to the chest and trumped the right-winger, who are looking a very sorry lot today.

Whatever we think of Dr Treurnicht, he does represent a significant section of Afrikaner thinking that still thinks white is right. But the man we are gleefully hoping is going to get his come-uppance is Mr Ferdie Hartzenberg, the Minister of Training and Education.

To us Mr Hartzenberg was the epitome of all the miseries that our children are experiencing in getting what is justly their right. He also seemed to us to be part of that faction that would see this country go up in flames.

By taking the bit in his teeth, Mr Botha seems to have opened some way towards moving this country in a direction that may lead to flux. We do not know if the Botha clan of thinkers are doing all this to buy time, though that is a fairly accurate assessment of their tactics.

In a manner of speaking, he has done what many have been asking him to do, and needless to

say some blacks will still view the Botha strategy as playing for time.

That may be true, but we think we have to try and be realistic. Would we seriously wish to see a bloody revolution because some verkrampte is at the helm, or would we rather see change take other forms?

We know of people who have suffered for so long even the bloody revolution thesis is attractive. But we do not think any intelligent person would rather see his country and his children involved in a cauldron when there

are other options, however unattractive, at hand.

On a somewhat objective level, we believe Mr Botha has scored a winner for the Nats and white South Africa. The message his tough stand will be sending to Washington and perhaps Whitehall is that there is some movement to reform, however slow or cosmetic.

The fact too, that for the first time a Nat Prime Minister has taken the bull by the horns and done something that is totally alien to the Afrikaner ethos, is encouraging, to say the least.

CSO: 4700/977

NP SPLIT SHOULD HAVE BEEN ANTICIPATED

Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 1 Mar 82 p 6

[Article by Aggrey Klaaste in "On the Line": "As They Say That's Nats"]

[Text]

THE reverential terms with which the Nat split was met by MPs to the right and the left was awesome, almost reminiscent of the days of Moses in the Old Testament.

The comments made especially by the Nats were most revealing. Somebody said he could sit down and weep. Another man believed he could rend his clothes, tear out his hair and presumably gnash his teeth. We are waiting for somebody to say he was going to put ash on his hair, go into the mountains and fast for 40 days. It was that kind of biblical reaction that fairly bristled with Old Testament allusion.

It was as if Messrs Andy Treurnicht and his cohorts had bashed the Ten Commandment tablets before Moses even read the stuff to the people.

The surprise is everybody has been talking about the tension between the verkrampptes and the verligtes. Surely something of this nature should have been anticipated. It did not exactly come like a bolt from the blue. In fact it took just about too long even for the Prime Minister, and we think the commentator who said Mr Botha should feel liberated was right.

Now that the inevitable has happened it seems as if the Pope himself has defected to the Soviet Union. Come off it you guys. What makes the thing even more farcical is the cause of the split. There was talk about "healthy" power sharing, which has in truth nothing to do with health, with power nor with sharing, and everybody knows that. OK they might be fighting the principle and all that jazz.

But for anybody to seriously imagine we believe Mr Botha has declared the gates open for one man one vote, is to have a very low opinion of us.

Monday columnists, like me, have this misfortune of joining the chorus long after the curtain has rung down. By now the split or whatever, and the Transvaal Nat Head Committee meeting, have become stale news. The story has been flogged to death, but because everybody is swearing this thing is so momentous we have to say something.

The topic has been discussed, analysed, ventilated, joked about, agonised over in all the serried ranks of public and private opinion.

Editors have done what they only do in times of war or when their papers are to be closed down — written sonorous editorials on page one. It has been a time of momentous events tumbling one after the other since two weeks ago.

As happened then, come Monday, and the body was left bleeding and just about breathing its last. It needs someone with special talents (which we cannot boast of having) to get the glimmer of something original to say after all that jive.

It was a trial for us Monday scribes. We had to try and cull something original from the exhausted subjects. If we had to avoid being repetitious or simply crushing bores, we had to be damn smart.

On this space we went into a pious bit about ego-tripping and honesty, which had the most hilarious reactions.



We were called by a priest who thought we could make a good bible puncher. We were called by a man who was bitter with the boss who had made him resign. The man said our piece was about as close as you could get to that SOB as anything else.

The Nat split, by today, has been tiresomely overdiscussed and even if you came out with the most original approach, people are bound to exclaim: "So what's new?" There is nothing particular I am about to say about it all. Except this. I think I understand the white man in this country. That reminds you of something you have had before from whites and their understanding of blacks? Then you are with me.

Another little cliché I am about to offer which will also strike a bell is, some of my best friends are white. If there is one thing that I am particularly clear about, it's this thing called tribalism, that the intellectuals will sometimes emphasise by naming it xenophobia- a hatred of people outside your clan. Most of us in Southern Africa claim an intimate knowledge of the tribal proclivities of the Ndebeles and the Shona, those of the Zulus and the Sothos. We sometimes forget the most excitable and over-emotive tribalism of the Afrikaner. That's my answer to all the jazz about total onslaught etc, etc.

CSO: 4700/977

## REACTION TO BUTHELEZI COMMISSION REPORT

## Serious Contribution

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 7 Mar 82 p 38

[Editorial]

[Text]

**S**OUTH Africa's constitutional debate has for too long worn a whites-only tag.

True, there are some coloureds and Indians on the President's Council, but by and large the game of devising blueprints for the future has been a segregated sport restricted to white politicians and academics. This despite the fact that without the presence of South Africans of other pigments there would be no need to shuffle our constitutional cards and deal again.

The Buthelezi Commission's report shatters that mould. As it destroys the cherished cliché that black politicians, having fallen into the trap of all those who have responsibility without power, indulge only in slogan politics.

The report is a laudable and earnest effort from a black quarter to make a serious contribution to the debate on South Africa's constitutional options. Neither can it be damned as too radical by any but the denizens of the Waterberg.

Born of a real and urgent need — acutely felt by Natalians of all colours and persuasions — to come to grips with the peculiar problems of their fragmented region, the commission's findings have a flavour of healthy power-sharing which deserves serious consideration by a government newly converted to that concept.

Neither does it seek to remake the world overnight. The gradualism built into the recommendations, the guarantees for minority rights, the emphasis on consensus between the different groups — all recognise a central fact of South African politics: any blueprint which fails to allay white fears is doomed to failure.

For in the final count all constitutional blueprints, whether they originate with the Buthelezi Commission or the President's Council, have to earn the consent of the governed without which they are doomed to failure and the waste-paper basket of history.

But the measured tone of the report and its moderate conclusions cannot muffle the warning bell that sounds in many of its findings.

If, as its surveys show, nearly 80 percent of blacks in the Transvaal and Natal are angry with the way South Africa is run, if the majority of blacks believe that the ANC would receive sympathy and co-operation from most black South Africans, if most of them predict violence and unrest if change is slow in coming, then white South Africans have little time to come to grips with another central fact.

If they don't talk constitutional change with the Buthelezis of this world, they may not have much time left to talk to anyone.

## Black Moderates

Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 9 Mar 82 p 8

[Editorial]

[Text]

**F**OR 30 years and more, people have been saying we are running out of time, that unless we change soon we will be overtaken by revolution.

But each demand has met with increasing resistance, despite the overwhelming body of scientific evidence pointing conclusively to the futility, the impracticability and the inhumanity of separate development as a system for a stable and secure future.

The Buthelezi Commission, which released its report at the weekend, is one of a number of recent studies urging a new approach to the white community's real and imagined fears about change.

It sets out the possibility of developing on a regional basis a system of government which can accommodate all people in the area and, hopefully, create a climate of acceptance for a similar dispensation in the rest of the country. All groups will be guaranteed representation in a legislative assembly where minorities will also have a veto right. A Bill of Rights will protect individual and cultural rights, and all groups will be ensured representation in the executive.

In short, the report offers whites the most orderly way in which to negotiate the changes they know they must make, while

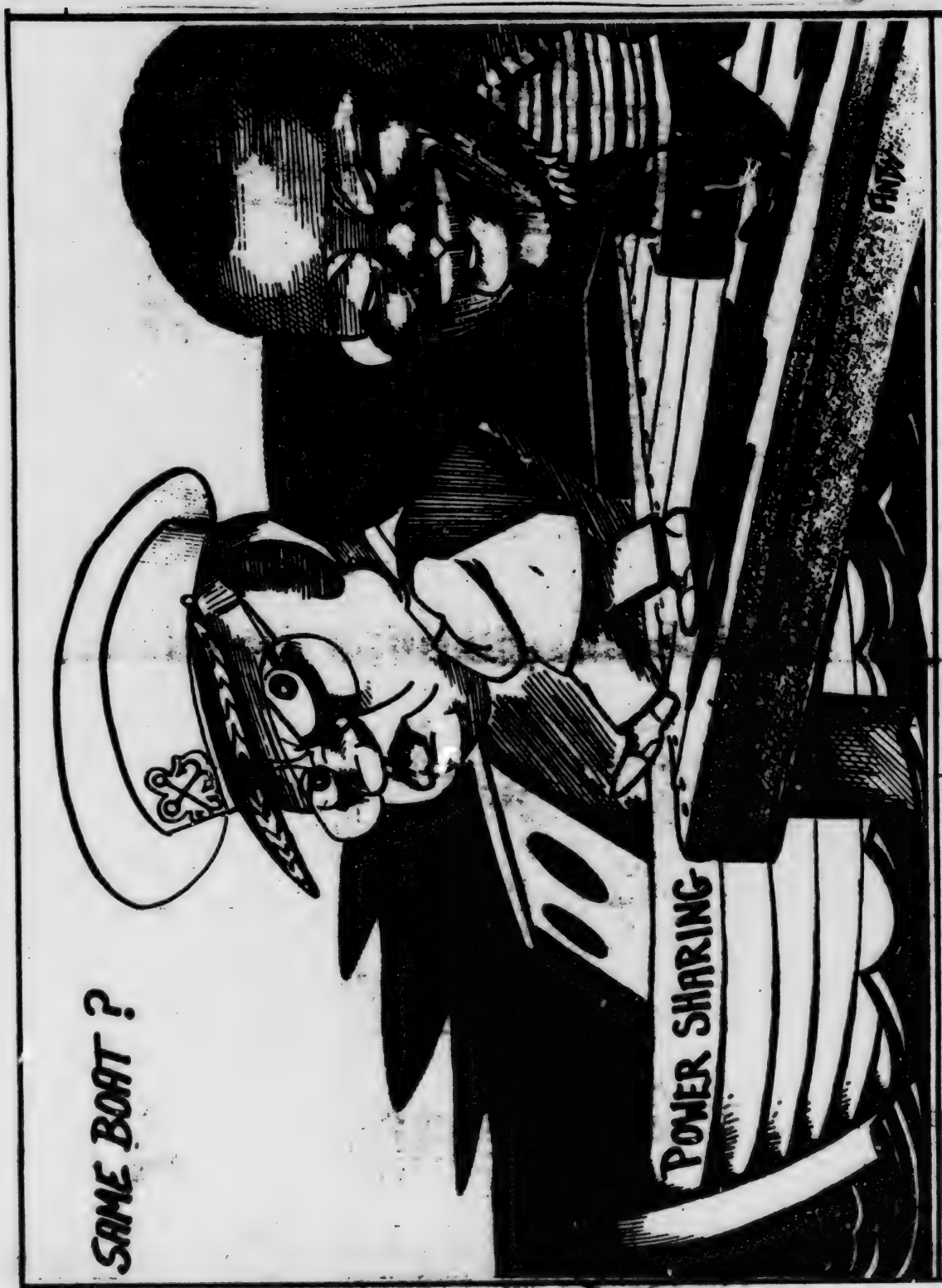
providing blacks with significant progress towards a meaningful share in government.

What's more, the offer comes from an important black leader at a time when all surveys are revealing increasing black militancy and massive support for the banned African National Congress, including majority sympathy for ANC insurgents.

As the report says: "Some form of power sharing is the only real alternative to continued instability." And it adds ominously: "While a revolutionary situation has not yet emerged in general terms, developments appear to point in that direction."

Against that background, the report provides the Prime Minister with the kind of break he needs. With increasing numbers of Nationalists abandoning him, he is being forced to seek support elsewhere — initially from whites to his Left, but inevitably, among black moderates.

The Buthelezi Commission points the way to that possibility. Mr Botha cannot afford to dismiss its proposals in the way the Nationalists have arrogantly swept aside so many other sincere attempts to ease this country out of its logjam. Or will he follow the path that will inevitably polarise our country as revolutionaries relentlessly continue their build up around us?



CSO: 4700/977

PW BOTHA VICTORY: NO PRELUDE TO SIGNIFICANT CHANGE

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 6 Mar 82 p 7

[Article by Andre du Toit: "Reformist Victory? It's a Mistake To Think So..."]

[Text] In the great confrontation and break-up of the National Party, Mr P.W. Botha and his reformist supporters appear to have achieved a major victory over Dr Treurnicht and his rightists. Is this prelude to significant change? The answer, according to political observer Andre du Toit of Stellenbosch University is "no."

Understandably many people will view the events leading to the exclusion of the Treurnicht faction from the National party as a victory for the reformist cause.

It is to be expected that the next few months will see a revival of the verligte illusion of 1979 and 1980 that Mr P.W. Botha's government is preparing to bring about significant political reforms. That would be a serious mistake. For, contrary to appearances, the significance of the dramatic events of the last week may in the long run prove to be that they have finally put paid to the possibility of the National Party being an instrument of reform.

Once the dust has settled and the tumultuous acclaim for Mr Botha's famous defeat of Dr Treurnicht has died down, closer scrutiny of what happened will reveal that the real political victory went elsewhere and that Mr Botha and his reformist group, if that it is, have emerged from the fray weakened rather than strengthened. What few observers seem to have noticed is that Botha and Treurnicht were not the only contenders in the power struggle, and that the significant shift of power which has indeed taken place in the National Party has primarily been towards this "third force."

It is not entirely clear whether either Botha or Treurnicht were actually aiming at a final showdown. The available evidence indicates that Dr Treurnicht may merely have meant to act in prepara-

tion for a later confrontation on the expected recommendations of the President's Council. Likewise Mr Botha and his lieutenants, in proposing the fateful motion of confidence in the cau-

cus, were probably concerned to manoeuvre Treurnicht into an awkward strategical corner with a view to that same later confrontation. If so, both sides badly misjudged this occasion, though



the immediate consequences were certainly much more drastic for the Treurnicht group.

What is clear, however, is that once the power struggle had begun in earnest all the crucial and decisive moves were made neither by the Botha nor by the Treurnicht groups themselves. Instead a centrist group emerged spearheaded by the two deputy leaders of the Transvaal party, Mr Hendrik Schoeman and Mr F W de Klerk. Throughout that long week they held the balance of power. There can be no doubt that had they spoken against the motion of confidence in the caucus the outcome of that vote would have been quite different. Even more so, once the division in the caucus had taken place, the position of these centrist leaders was absolutely critical. Had they wavered in their rejection of the Treurnicht stand, even only to the extent of indicating possible sympathy for it or by taking a neutral position, Mr Botha would have been in deep waters indeed.

Moreover, there is every indication that it was this centrist group, and in particular Mr F W de Klerk, who engineered the unexpectedly heavy defeat of the Treurnicht group at the meeting of the Transvaal head committee of the National Party. It was Mr de Klerk who worded the crucial motion and ensured the support of key divisional chairmen; it was he who devised the ploy of inviting Mr Botha to participate in the meeting,

clearly catching the anti-Botha faction on the wrong foot; and it was he who emerged as the main spokesman for the Transvaal National Party, poised to assume its leadership.

Nor should there be any mistake that the centrists like Mr de Klerk had chosen Mr Botha rather than Dr Treurnicht. Instead, they clearly and consistently asserted a different line altogether: the overriding importance of the greatest possible extent of party unity. This was the basis of their strategy, and this was the burden of their various interventions and public statements. Once the Treurnicht rebellion against Mr Botha's leadership had become a political fact they accepted it and sought to minimise its extent. To have attempted a conciliation or compromise between the rival factions would only have embroiled them in the polarised conflict which could totally split the party asunder. So they loyally rallied to the side of the recognised leadership, not in support of the reformist cause, but for the sake of party unity. And it was this line which undoubtedly won the day in the meeting of the Transvaal head committee. Actual or potential sympathisers of Dr Treurnicht came prepared to resist the familiar reformist pleas that we must be prepared to adapt or die and it is unlikely that Mr Botha's own forceful presentation would have changed many minds on its own. It was a different matter

for any Nationalist to reject the appeals to preserve party unity emanating from such evidently centrist leaders as Mr de Klerk.

The recent events may even be argued to have resulted in a significant consolidation of party unity, and in the emergence of an important new centrist leadership. For a number of years now party unity has suffered because of an increasing polarisation between its reformist and reactionary wings. On the one hand there were the *verkrampes* and conservatives who hankered for old-style apartheid or remained committed to an ideological framework inherited from Dr Verwoerd. In local committees and on the backbenches of Parliament they counted many supporters and sympathisers, but since the accession of Mr Botha they had little influence in the inner circles of power. On the other hand there were the *verligtes* and reformists who were strongly represented in the Cabinet and party leadership but who could securely count only on a narrow and even sectional base of support in the party as a whole. Relatively few MPs belonged unequivocally either to the one section or to the other, but in the continuing tug of war between them party unity became increasingly threatened.

That has now changed. The few die-hard ideologues and *verkrampes* have actually been expelled from the party. And the position of the reformist section has been seriously weakened. In

the process the conditions for a centrist consolidation of party unity has been greatly improved.

Why will Mr Botha not now be able to initiate significant reforms from a position of strength? Basically this will be due to the same forces which have inhibited him until now, forces which can be strengthened only by these recent events.

One main reason given for the apparent stalling of Mr Botha's early reformist initiatives was the fear that the National Party might lose significant Afrikaner support on the right. This threat has become more real with the defection of the Treurnicht group. Expulsion from the party will free the hands of this group themselves to pursue an open and active anti-Botha campaign throughout the country and in Parliament itself. If a fringe organisation like the HNP could muster over 200 000 votes in 1981 a new Treurnicht party should do a great deal better, particularly if it can consolidate the various right-wing groups and harness the support of the likes of Mr Vorster and Dr Mulder.

Is it conceivable that a Botha government would risk facing such rivals for Afrikaner support in an election following an international settlement in South West Africa leading to Swapo rule?

The reformist posi-

tion has weakened inside the party itself as well. Previously Mr Botha could not embark on any reformist initiatives that might be blocked by Dr Treurnicht in the Cabinet, caucus or particularly in the Transvaal congress. With a centrist like Mr F W de Klerk as Transvaal leader the line will probably not be drawn on the same ideological or reactionary grounds. It may indeed now be possible that recommendations by the President's Council for coloured representation on separate voting rolls in a separate chamber of Parliament but with some participation in the executive will be approved and enacted. That is, if the centrist leadership of Mr de Klerk agrees that this will not threaten party unity.

There can be little doubt that it will be this centrist leadership which will hold the cards, and there should also be no doubt that they will prove a more redoubtable nut to crack than Dr Treurnicht. Mr de Klerk has every prospect of becoming an uncontested leader of the Transvaal in a way that Dr Treurnicht never was.

A centrist leader like Mr de Klerk can hardly be made out by the reformists as an ideological ogre like Dr Treurnicht; his support will come not from an ideological wing but from the main body of the party; it will be premised not on a sec-

tional appeal but on party unity itself.

If Mr de Klerk can consolidate the organisational base of the Transvaal party, the strongest and richest region, he will be in a virtually unassailable position in terms of Nationalist politics.

Meanwhile the reformists have been marked as ready to take risks with party unity and capable of serious misjudgments as well.

Even without ousting or succeeding Mr Botha as national leader Mr de Klerk will be in the position of king maker, and the reformists will have great difficulty preventing such centrist leadership from calling the tune and setting the pace of reform — if there is to be any significant reform at all.

Is it not possible that the centrist leadership itself will be prepared to engage in needed social and political reforms?

Of course — as long as it does not threaten party unity. That is the mark distinguishing the mainline nationalists from the reformists. The latter is to some extent guided by perceived needs for reform, and may even be prepared to take some (though not substantial) risks to party unity in pursuing it.

But it is difficult to

think of any significant political or social reform which would not pose substantial threats to party unity under present conditions.

The prospects for making a truly nationalist National Party an instrument for reform are dim indeed. If Mr Botha and his reformists would persist in pursuing this, then the writing is on the wall for them and they may before long have to follow Dr Treurnicht into the political desert. (And if they do not introduce substantial reforms many members of the Party will want to know why it was necessary to expel the Treurnicht group at all.)

The National Party without Dr Treurnicht has consolidated rather than split in any basic sense, and in the process the reformist cause has lost considerable ground. But if the party has not yet split, both Afrikanerdom and white politics will henceforth be much more divided. The political base of the National Party is contracting, not expanding, and it may lose further support on the right as well as the left. A united National Party remains the chief obstacle to significant reform, but its days may now well be numbered.

★ Andre du Toit is Associate Professor of the Department of Political Philosophy at the University of Stellenbosch.

APPEAL FROM CP CENTRAL COMMITTEE PUBLISHED

London THE AFRICAN COMMUNIST in English No 88, First Quarter 1982 pp 5-8

[Text]

Racist South Africa and its imperialist and NATO allies are relentlessly driving Southern Africa to the brink of war.

The Botha-Malan strategy of "total war" sees the whole of Southern Africa as one indivisible theatre of war. The aims of this strategy are the defeat and destruction of the liberation movements of Namibia and South Africa, to destroy the governments of Angola and Mozambique which are attempting to build a socialist society, and the imposition of fascist South Africa on the rest of the peoples of Southern Africa as the unchallenged neo-colonialist master. This "grand strategy" is founded on the illusion that Southern Africa would forever remain the preserve of imperialism.

In practical terms what this "total strategy" amounts to is the militarisation of the South African economy and society in order to mount ever-increasing repression of our people's struggle for liberation and continuous and increasing economic and military aggression against all the states of Southern Africa.

The heroic people of Angola have once again beaten back a four-pronged massive military invasion by fascist South Africa. This invasion was part of the continuous aggression that was unleashed from the time of the birth of the People's Republic of Angola. The intensification of the barbaric attacks are accompanied by repeated incursions into western Zambia, active measures to overthrow the government of the Republic of Zambia by coup d'etat, and the training, arming and deployment of puppet groups and mercenaries against Angola, Mozambique, Lesotho and Zimbabwe. These acts are combined with economic reprisals, blackmail and intimidation directed against Botswana, Swaziland and other independent countries and are founded on the economic stranglehold imperialist South Africa exercises over the economies of the countries of Southern Africa.

At a recent symposium held at the University of Potchefstroom, General Viljoen of the South African Defence Force accused these states of attacking the apartheid Republic in world forums, supporting economic sanctions and harbouring freedom fighters. "Such a situation", he threatened, "could not be tolerated. Should matters get even worse, South Africa would have no choice but to put its security interests above economic ideals."

### **S.A. Part of World Imperialism**

Racist South Africa's drive to perpetuate and entrench white minority rule in South Africa, to deny the people of Namibia their right to self-determination, and to dominate the independent countries of Southern Africa economically, politically and militarily is generated by the imperialist nature of South Africa's capitalist economy. At the same time the South African economy is an integral part of the world capitalist economy. This is the basis for the community of interest between imperialism and racist South Africa which underpins the special role that the South African regime is assigned in Southern Africa and the South Atlantic region. It is within the context of this web of inter-relations that steps are being taken for the establishment of a South Atlantic Treaty Organisation with the connivance of US imperialism and that the Reagan administration has come out publicly to encourage the Botha-Malan military adventures in Southern Africa as well as covertly connive in the creation of assassination squads by South Africa to eliminate the leadership of the ANC, SACTU and the SACP.

The rapid escalation of the danger of war in South Africa must be seen against the backdrop of the reactionary Reagan administration's efforts to refurbish and apply with renewed vigour the aggressive policies and brinkmanship pursued by world imperialism at the height of the cold war. While war clouds darken the Southern African sky, on a world scale we live under the deepening shadows of the threat of a world war. Southern Africa as such constitutes one theatre of struggle, an area which, together with the Middle East, Asia and Latin America, has become one of the focal points in the international confrontation between the forces of national liberation, socialism and peace on the one hand, and imperialism and war on the other.

The apartheid regime has militarised the South African economy and society. Millions of rands are being diverted to the development of South Africa's nuclear capacity. In addition, on July 29 1981 the Botha-Malan regime increased its military budget by 39.5%, raising it to R2,465 billion. Under the guise of the Physical Planning Act and the national key points regulations, industries are requested to surround themselves with barbed wire fortresses. Young whites are being drafted and unemployed blacks cajoled into the army.

While the wealth of our country, the produce of our sweated labour, is wasted on the production of weapons of war and in reckless military adventures, the plight of our oppressed and exploited people, and the workers in particular, is inexorably

reduced to a struggle for survival against starvation. The price of bread and other essential foods keeps increasing, rents and bus fares continue to soar. The rate of inflation is higher than it ever was since 1924. More than two million black workers are jobless. Those who have jobs are engaged in bitter struggles and strike action to improve their conditions and wages. Mass forced removals such as at Nyanga continue unabated and the Bantustan puppet 'states' are institutionalised as dumping grounds of the unemployed and unemployable.

### **South Africa The Key**

Now as never before the future of South Africa has become the lynchpin to liberation, peace and social progress in Southern Africa and Africa.

In our struggle for national liberation and the building of a socialist society, our people have struck mighty blows.

The pursuit of destabilisation and military aggression against Southern Africa by the Botha-Malan regime and its imperialist allies introduces a further dimension to our actions and a special responsibility on our peoples, and especially on the leading force of our revolution — the oppressed and exploited black working class.

The South African Communist Party calls upon our people, and particularly our working class, to unite in mass action and intensify the struggle.

Let us build and strengthen our trade unions. Let us organise the unorganised workers. Let us carry the struggles we are engaged in on the factory floors to the townships. Let us intensify the battles we are engaged in over local and specific issues and widen them into national battles.

**Refuse to serve in the apartheid army! Demand an end to the production of weapons of death and destruction!**

**Let the wealth of our country provide jobs for the jobless, a living wage for all, houses for all!**

While the racist regime prepares for and engages in murderous acts of aggression against the countries of Southern Africa, let us gather all our energies, build a broad mass movement to halt such aggression and attack the racist regime in its heartland with ever increasing vigour!

**Destroy the Washington-Pretoria conspiracy! No to SATO! Halt the racist aggression against Angola and all the countries of Southern Africa!**

**Organise mass protest meetings and demonstrations! Develop positive forms of mass action!**

**FORWARD TO NATIONAL LIBERATION, SOCIALISM AND PEACE!**

**FORWARD TO PEOPLE'S POWER!**



# FIGHT OVER POWER SHARING EXPECTED TO INTENSIFY

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 7 Mar 82 p 6

[Article by Ivor Wilkins: "The Battle's Over. Now for the War"]

[Text]

THE months that loom ahead are going to be decisive for the political fortunes of Nationalism's new warlords.

So much so that seasoned observers are cautioning that Prime Minister P W Botha's moment of greatest triumph could quickly curdle into his moment of demise.

It is a period fraught with danger for the Prime Minister. To parody the slogan he took to the voters in last year's election, "Now more than ever" is bold leadership required.

He has taken Afrikaner Nationalism over the abyss he, no less than preceding Prime Ministers, dreaded. The party, whose unity he pledged to preserve, has split and the reckoning in the months ahead will be severe.

After last week's triumphant and dramatic meeting of the Transvaal head committee, Mr Botha has clearly won the battle. But the war is by no means over.

Nationalists from both the Treurnicht and the Botha camps have already taken to the trenches and the skirmishes that loom are likely to be both debilitating and bitter.

## Keenly

For the followers, those who sit on the sidelines, but whose investment of loyalty and faith in the National Party has been considerable, the events will be watched keenly.

And, if in their view the party has been broken for no good reason, there will be an accounting and it is Mr Botha they will look to to pay the price.

Observers believe that unless Mr Botha quickly establishes a clear and firm course of action, spelling out exactly where he wants to go and why, his followers might soon fall into grumbling discontent — querying why the Volk has been subjected to such trauma for so little apparent reason.

And there should be no underestimating the intensity of the upheaval such an event will have right through the fabric of Afrikaner society.

Already, the deep concern expressed by the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk, largest of the Afrikaans churches — and sometimes dubbed "the Government at prayer" — reflects the fear that a split in the National Party will reverberate much further than political formations.

They, among others — the Broederbonders, the teachers, the academics, the farmers, the shopkeepers — will be asking why.

Mr Botha would be justified in trying to argue the case on a matter of discipline. In any government, MPs who will not support a motion of confidence in their leader face expulsion.

But this motion was linked to, and the Botha men refused to separate it from, a specific interpretation of policy, which instantly transfers the issue on to the ideological terrain.

At least on the face of it, the ideological

differences between Mr Botha and the rebel leader, Dr Andries Treurnicht, are not huge.

Given the passions that have been generated far enough to split the party, examination of their public stances reveals how small the differences are in real terms. They seem to concern definitions and terminologies rather than fundamental conflicts.

On the question of a constitutional future for blacks, both men have agreed that the homeland option devised by Dr Verwoerd must be pursued to the end.

Even Mr Botha's emphasis on confederation has found favour among the rightwingers — although there may be differences on quite how much consultation there should be.

On the new dispensation for whites, coloureds, and Asians the differences are deeper, but not much.

The Treurnicht group interpret the official 1977 proposals as three separate parliaments for each race group. These groups would have representation in a Council of Cabinets, where they would exercise "joint responsibility".

There would be a mixed electoral college, with whites holding a majority, to elect an executive-type State President.

They began to voice concern when the verligtes in the party started looking at other options, subtly different, but still safely within, the terms of the 1977 plan.

Instead of three parliaments, three chambers in a single parlia-

ment became de rigeur. The Council of Cabinets began to be referred to as a Cabinet Council.

Joint responsibility translated to joint "decision-making" and then last week the Prime Minister verged on the heretical by calling it a "form of healthy power sharing".

But in real terms the versions are not greatly different. Constitutional experts agree that the difference between three parliaments and three chambers is more symbolic than anything else.

## Implication

A Cabinet Council does edge the concept closer to a single institution than a body made up of three separate elements — but by implication rather than absolute fact.

And the Prime Minister's own argument that you can hardly have joint responsibility without joint decision-making is persuasive.

And that, by the smallest tweak of the argument, leads to a reasonable, if highly circumscribed, definition of power sharing — healthy or otherwise.

Herein lies the real rub. The rightwingers correctly perceive that all the clichés are true: one thing does lead to another; it is the slippery slope, the thin edge of the wedge and all the other things they fear.

It is a process. And once it has started, it will gain momentum.

The point is the process started, not last week, but years ago, when the unworkability of apartheid began to manifest itself.

Ever since, the party moguls have been tip-toeing away from the original destination, but bluffing their followers (and themselves?) that there has been no change.

Why there is suddenly a problem is that the Prime Minister has done

the unmentionable and called it by its name.

When politics is conducted as a massive exercise in grand delusion, as it has been in South Africa for decades, words and definitions assume greatly exaggerated importance.

The more they are used to obscure instead of reveal issues, the more the debate focuses on the word games, while the issues themselves sink comfortably into the background.

What Mr Botha has done with his introduction of the power-sharing term is to stop the game momentarily in its tracks and introduce an unwelcome reality.

That in itself is risky, as events have shown. But what is more risky is to revert to the old games, having spoilt the fun for everybody else.

Which is why observers emphasise the need now for Mr Botha to move firmly and decisively along a political route clearly and honestly defined.

Reality, which Mr Botha espouses as a direction-finder, dictates that the route involves a major turnaround from the apartheid dream.

Already the slow, stealthy trudge out of the impasse has taken South Africa past some familiar signposts passed on the march into the apartheid cul-de-sac.

Originally apartheid, by definition, had to rest on the concept of race discrimination. Now the Government commits itself against discrimination.

Grand apartheid meant a separation of the economy. Now there is an acceptance that South Africa has a single economy in which all people should have an equal stake.

The apartheid dream insisted that blacks in the cities were temporary sojourners for whom life should be so unappetising that the homelands would beckon irresistibly.

## Illusory

Now they are permanent city dwellers, for whom socio-economic and political upliftment is urgently required.

Once the separation and division of power was sacrosanct. Now healthy power sharing has carved out a bitter slot in the new language of Nationalist politics.

The trouble is that the new terms are as illusory and contradictory as the old.

How does the Government intend to do away with discrimination, while it retains discriminatory legislation?

How do all people participate equally and freely in the economy while laws like the Group Areas Act hamper the interests of some?

How do blacks in the cities exercise their permanence without the right of property ownership and the right to find their political destiny where they are, rather than in strange homelands hundreds of kilometres away?

And how do you share power with coloured and Asian people and retain a spoken commitment to "white domination"?

Mr Botha's own supporters — let alone the 23-million other South Africans — are going to increasingly require answers to these contradictions.

His own people — plunged now into crisis by his abrupt insistence on realism about power sharing — will demand that he also plays the reality game on other levels.

Unless he moves boldly to give real content and meaning to the new terminology, their bewilderment and anger at the pain of the split will only increase.

And if that happens, they may well turn to another leader, who will not trifle with their unity for the sake of words, whose currency has been so dramatically devalued.

PARTY LEADERS DISCUSS ROLE OF POLITICS IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 1 Mar 82 p 20

[Article by Francois Oberholzer]

[Text] The intrusion of party politics into the Johannesburg municipal election campaign has been the subject for much heated debate in the build-up to the March 3 poll. Here the leaders of five parties and groups discuss the pros and cons of whether there should be party or independent politics in municipal elections, and how it would affect the man in the street.

### Not available

The National Party, which of course favours politics in city government, was not available to enter this debate. The NP city leader, the deputy leader and the party organiser could not be reached. None replied to messages left for them.

In this election it will be the first time the central issues in contention will not be whether our civic administration is or is not effective, or if there are ways of doing more for the senior citizens and our home-owners: the central issue will be simply whether the Johannesburg City

Council will remain in the hands of the people whose interests are first and foremost those of their rate-payers, or whether control of the council will pass to representatives who are concerned firstly with the interests of their party head office.

Four political parties are vying furiously with one another for control of our city. The PFP is determined to win the elections and the NRP and HNP are bent on winning as many wards as they can. To what end? Not to introduce better city government. Their object is one easily detected: they wish to afford Cape Town and Durban a voice in the affairs of Johannesburg. Make no mistake: neither the PFP nor the NRP will take a decision of any import without the

blessing of their respective party chiefs. These political parties are not interested in Johannesburg as anything other than a forum for the attainment of their various national political aspirations.

The PFP views the gaining of control over Johannesburg as the next and probably most important step in its campaign to unseat the Government. The PFP will open to all races all the city's facilities, no matter whether such facilities were developed for and are adequate only to the needs of the communities which currently enjoy them.

In its zeal to lend credence to its party's parliamentary policies the PFP proposes to trample on any number of inveterate customs, and stands an excellent chance of doing Johan-

nesburg irreparable harm in the process. In the Indian community it is considered improper for men and women to swim together: does the PFP now propose to force integration down their throats? Does it propose to open Yeoville's swimming pool, which is at present bursting at its seams, to the 10 000-strong black labour force legally resident on the rooftops of flats in Yeoville and its surrounds?

What political dogma! Racially mixing of suburbs and facilities will result in a senseless defiance of government policy, which will benefit

neither our present ratepayers nor race relations in general. A vote for the PFP will be a vote for turning our city's efficient administration into a political football, with considerable attendant embarrassment for the city's residents and officials.

The National Party, however, is in a unique position among the political parties, for it is the only one not in search of a forum. Its alliance with the Independent Ratepayers Action Group was based on the understanding that politics would not be allowed to intrude into municipal affairs, and the NP representatives in the council have undoubt-

edly honoured their undertaking in this regard. The NP is not being motivated by purely political ambitions because the party is already in power in central and provincial government.

The IRA is, of course, the only wholly apolitical group with council representation to enter the polls, and for this reason I feel that we will lend the readiest ear to ratepayers' representations.

● Mr Francois Oberholzer is the leader of the Independent Ratepayers Action (IRA) Group and chairman of the Johannesburg City Council management committee.

## They've Forgotten It Shouldn't Be So

[Article by Koos Sadie]

[Text]

The people of Johannesburg have grown so used to rival parties confronting each other at municipal elections they have forgotten that it is quite unnatural for politics to play any part in local government.

The reasons for keeping politics out of the council are as valid today as they were during the years before the lumbering party machines intervened.

There is still only one answer to the question of whether politics has any place in local affairs. They have no

place at all.

A councillor who is politically committed will always give priority to the interests of his party above his ward, his voters or the citizens of Johannesburg as a whole — and even at their expense.

Voters in a municipal election fought out between rival politicians are asked — as if it were the most natural thing in the world — to vote for the party and not the person. In the context of local government this is in fact the most unnatural thing in the world.

That is why the Southern Johannesburg Ratepayers' Federation wants a council free from politics. Nothing

will be lost and much will be gained if politics disappear from the Johannesburg City Council.

Government by politicians has not improved the image of the Johannesburg City Council, and a conspicuous example of their failure is the city's financial decline.

Johannesburg should be taking the lead and setting an example to the rest of South Africa in finding more efficient means of financing municipal services, as called for by the Browne Report.

To do this the best possible team will have to be got together in

the council. In practice that can only mean a team free to attend to the city's business without political or ideological distractions.

It must also be remembered that a city council cannot influence national issues because it has no power to enact or pass laws extending beyond its boundaries. It is restricted to laws affecting only its own citizens and sometimes even those require the sanction of the Transvaal Provincial Administration.

● Mr Koos Sadie is the leader of the Southern Johannesburg Ratepayers' Federation.

## Municipality Is Integral Part of it All

[Article by Sam Moss]

[Text]

Keeping politics out of local government is a hollow cry since municipalities are part of the hierarchy of government, with responsibilities determined by the central and provincial authorities.

With racial tensions rising and polarisation increasing, it is imperative that local government plays a positive and constructive role in testing and formulating new approaches which will lead to greater confidence and trust among the people living in its area of jurisdiction.

Local issues have become confused with national issues and local government politics is

dominated by central government policies.

Urbanisation offers the greatest challenge to local authorities and there is no doubt that in the new political dispensation the scope and function of larger municipalities will be expanded.

Thus, more than ever before in the history of South Africa, local authorities must show boldness, vision and preparedness to face up to crucial issues and to introduce essential and fundamental change.

The future viability of business depends on the meaningful political change which will open up economic opportunity to all race groups.

Economic advancement is the forerunner to social and political change and, as the most

intimate form of government, local government is sensitive to these demands, for councillors are in constant contact with local opinion and local demands.

Local government, like enterprising and responsible business, must be bold and imaginative. It cannot hide behind the negativism of political non-involvement and erode its responsibilities for formulating solutions to the challenges of the day.

Politics in local government acts as a co-ordinator of thinking across a broad spectrum of opinion. This, together with the discipline of team effort, provides the essence of making local government more meaningful and purposeful.

Politics is not a dirty word. It is a science with many disciplines. The welfare of peoples depends on the actions flowing from its findings. The people who are part of the faculty are concerned people, and the fulfilment of a better life for all can be achieved only by political change. In the vanguard of this movement are political parties.

Local government is part of the mainstream of life and can achieve its maximum potential for good only by being an active participant in the political process.

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● Mr Sam Moss is leader of the Progressive Federal Party in the Johannesburg City Council.

## A Prime Area for Change

[Article by Edmund Elias]

[Text]

Municipal politics in South Africa form probably the most important arena for meaningful constitutional change, with the unsolved question of the more than 10 million urban blacks the kernel of our problems.

We have in our midst a voiceless, rootless mass — a potentially explosive and dangerous situation which cannot be ignored with cries of "no politics in local government." It

is vital that an acceptable political dispensation for the urban blacks is formulated.

The urban areas are where aspirations are generated and where room for fulfilment must must be created.

Decisions reflecting hurtful racial discrimination are constantly being made by the management committee of the Johannesburg City Council. Representations affecting Johannesburg's coloured and



Indian people were made to the President's Council without them having been consulted.

Although the powers that be refuse to concede this, national political influences are dominant in almost all so-called non-political situations. So why the camouflage when local government is as political as can be?

The New Republic Party is of the opinion that Johannesburg's citizens are sufficiently at-

tuned to the need for political change to open the way for a new era in Johannesburg municipal politics.

The NRP has a meaningful role to play in ensuring that the existing policy of enforced segregation, based on an unhealthy climate of white fear, is not merely replaced by a PFP policy of enforced integration based on white guilt.

The answer lies in a concept based on freedom of choice and local option with full regard for basic human rights.

Being well placed to hold the balance of power in the city council after the election, the NRP will not act as obstructionist but in a manner befitting the challenging political decisions likely to be made in the coming years, fully aware of the close interrelationship between national and local politics.

● Mr Edmund Elias is the chairman of the New Republic Party's Johannesburg Municipal Action Committee.

## Plot To Break White Power

[Article by Fred Peters]

[Text]

In the past city councils occupied themselves mainly with matters affecting local circumstances in the various suburbs, business and industrial zones, and with municipal services.

Because political separation between white and black was preserved at this level in the past, racial politics did not play a genuine role at municipal level.

The position now after the Government abolished the Senate and appointed the President's Council is that there is an extra-parliamentary body in South Africa which is trying to change the constitu-

tion without a mandate from the voters.

If the expected recommendations of the President's Council are dealt with accordingly it will mean that certain city councils in South Africa will be taken over by coloured people and Indians and there will be attempts to place multi-racial regional councils between the municipal level and the provincial councils, through which the provincial councils will eventually be phased out.

It is clear that the politicising of the city councils by the Government is a means through which the present Government, in co-operation with the expo-

nents or the international money powers, wants to break the political power of whites in South Africa.

The result of this policy will necessarily be that the white man will have to pay for the implementation of the decisions of the coloured and Indian town councils — which will not be able to obtain enough funds from property rates, water and electricity — to make them viable.

As a result of the fact that the Government and the National Party want to use the municipalities as a political instrument, it has become unavoidable for the HNP to fight the

Government and its spiritual ally, the PFP, at this level.

The HNP will not only oppose the introduction of multiracial politics but also the opening-up of white facilities built by white, for whites with the money of whites.

The HNP's view is that these facilities must be given back to whites.

The realisation has begun to dawn on whites in South Africa that there is no alternative but to fight this Government and its liberal fellow-travellers at every level—therefore also at municipal level.

● Major Fred Peters is the Reef organiser of the HNP.



## AZAPO TOLD TO STOP RHETORIC

Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 8 Mar 82 p 3

[Article by Norman Ngale]

[Text]

**THE TIME** for rhetoric, mud-slinging, suspicions, fears and intellectual debates has passed and a sense of urgency should be the guiding force, delegates to the Azanian People's Organisation's second congress were told over the weekend.

A Natal former political prisoner, Mr Strini Moodly, was addressing the Azapo congress on the past, the present and the future of Black Consciousness (BC) at the Saint Peters Seminary, near Hammanskraal.

Mr Moodly said BC was the articulate response of a dispossessed people to the entire world. "In any society where exploitation and oppression exist, the oppressed and exploited will be drawn together by their common experiences, aspirations, needs and desires.

"It is not enough to wait for a 'crisis' issue to arise in order that the organisation speak with the community. Rather the philosophy of BC calls upon organisations to concentrate upon the needs of the community," Mr Moodly said.

In his presidential address, Mr Kehla Mthembu praised "gallant" national organiser of Azapo, Mr Thabo Ndabeni, "a dear and brave comrade who refused to connive with the system in its perpetration of its evil and doubtful system of justice."

South Africa, he said, was a thorn in the flesh of the international community. United Nations was getting impatient with "this child" while the Organisation of African Unity was flabbergasted at "this delinquent".

Mr Zithulele Cindi said: "We live through and are in the midst of harassment, arrests, banning, detention, intimidation; the list is

endless. It is from these conditions that the nature, form and content of our struggle is forged.

"Our presence here is a positive affirmation of the need to stand up and oppose all forces of evil that seek to turn us into foreigners in the land of our birth," Mr Cindi said.

Delegates were informed that according to Azapo's records 30 branches had been established since the last congress.

Azapo's composite executive report stated branches formed included areas such as Denilton, Groblersdal, Middelburg and Ogies in the Eastern Transvaal, Phalaborwa and the Vaal complex.

Two regional organisers for the northern

Transvaal and the Orange Free State were appointed and Mr George Wauchope, publicity secretary, was appointed director of projects on a full time basis.

Delegates to the congress learnt that the organisation's Transkei branch was outlawed and an empty chair at the leader's table marked the absence of Azapo's national organiser, Mr Thabo Ndabeni, who was sentenced to 18 months' imprisonment for refusing to testify for the State at a terrorism trial in Kempton Park recently.

Among future projects the organisation aims at "big membership drive," focus on labour, health and education fronts and establishment of legal clinics.

DET AGE LIMIT RULE DUE TO SOWETO RIOTS OF 1976

Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 1 Mar 82 p 3

[Article by Sello Rabothata]

[Text]

THE Department of Education and Training (Det) knew that there are "remnants" of the 1976 riots in Soweto, that is why it has introduced the age restrictions in schools, Mt T W Kambule told a Teachers' Action Committee meeting yesterday.

The meeting, which was held at the St Francis of Assisi Church in Rockville, heard speakers denouncing the age limit restriction and the scrapping of the two official languages — English and Afrikaans — in Sub A. Speakers said the department should have consulted parents first before reaching such decisions.

Mr Kambule said there is a difference between schooling and education. He said: "Admittedly there has been a big improvement in the schooling situation, with more schools being built, but the education system

remains rotten."

Mr Ishmael Mkhabela, of the ad hoc committee, said the committee has handed the matter over to lawyers who would decide on whether to take the Department of Education and Training to court or not. He said the committee expected to hear from the lawyers some time this week.

Mr Nic Mokgatusi, of the Teachers' Action Committee (Tac), said Det has arrogantly declared children too old to attend school, and that for a child who is said to be too old for a certain class to attend school, permission has to be obtained from the director-general, Mr G J Rousseau. In some cases a child would also have to produce a birth certificate to prove his age.

He said Det operates within the apartheid system and it is just an extension of the Nationalist Government.

CISKEI USE OF CHEAP LABOR HIT

Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 8 Mar 82 p 6

[Editorial]

[Text]

**THE CASE** of trade unionist Mr Thozamile Gqweta should really make us all hang our heads in shame.

For Mr Gqweta, who has spent a considerable time in detention and has been subjected to agony in two countries — South Africa and Ciskei — still does not know why he was detained. Or at least we have not been told the reasons for his detention.

We seriously believe there should be some form of redress for detainees who are locked up for lengthy periods and then released.

He is today a broken man, in spirit and physically. In both states he was subjected to the inhumanity of solitary confinement for protracted periods of time. He was then released without a charge being laid against him. It seems extraordinary that the two states could find nothing to hang on the man when they have such a formidable arsenal of security laws.

The horror of the situation is that here was a man who to all in-

tents and purposes was operating within the law, who was working above board, who tried to bring sense into a ridiculous labour situation in both countries. It is no secret that the Ciskei government shamelessly uses its workers for cheap labour to South Africa. Then South Africans have at least put on a face of decency with their Wiehahn Commission, to give credibility to a crazy labour situation.

The Ciskei's case is simply not only untenable but subject to the gravest abuse. That country is beholden to South Africa because it is one of the poorest of the homelands. If there is any dancing to His Master's Voice to be done then the Sebe brothers would be expected to be the most vigorous. And they are.

That government also does not have the smokescreen of pseudo-democracy that we have in this country.

That is why a man like Charles Sebe, who heads the security machinery in the Ciskei will hardly even assume the diplomacy of silence or restraint when he is

asked on such matters. He would sooner tell the whole world to take a jump at itself than even enter a debate on a matter so serious as this.

The incredible thing is that men like Thozamile Gqweta are not doing whatever they are about to unseat these governments. They are addressing labour issues which need desperate attention if both countries are to have a measure of peace.

The arrogance displayed by the Sebe brothers is of course becoming notorious. The only way in

which we can explain such an attitude is, it is the result of guilt and badly battered conscience. These men also do not have an inkling about civil liberties. As far as they are concerned you either listen to what they are about, or you are the enemy to be ruthlessly destroyed.

We think all right thinking people should agitate to see some reforms in this kind of scandalous issue. There should be a campaign for redress for trade unionists, or anybody for that matter, who are detained for such long periods and then simply released.

CSO: 4700/977

# FINDINGS OF MASA INQUIRY INTO TREATMENT OF STEVE BIKO REPORTED

Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 2 Mar 82 p 5

[Text]

THE conduct of only one of the three doctors who treated Steve Biko before his death was investigated at an inquiry by the Medical Association of South Africa (Masa). The fact that he was not found guilty of disgraceful or improper conduct does not necessarily mean he was regarded as entirely blameless.

These facts emerged from an investigation by a Cape Town newspaper into the manner in which the Cape Midlands branch of the association came to the decision, which was accepted by its federal council — a decision which has not only been a source of controversy ever since, but also confusion.

The investigation established that the main points of confusion and misinterpretation have been:

- That Masa had exonerated all three doctors mentioned.

- That the decision of Masa's, and that of the South African Medical and Dental Council, not to act against the Biko doctors was the same one.

In reality the conduct of only one of the three doctors, namely Dr Benjamin Tucker, a district surgeon, was considered by Masa.

The other district surgeon concerned, Dr Ivor Lang, is not a member of Masa. The third doctor, Dr Colin Hersch, specialist physician, is a member, but the complaint did not question his merits for continued membership.

The decisions by Masa and the SAMDC, show certain parallels, and, in a sense, shortcomings.

Both decisions were based on conclusions arrived at by small committees of the parent bodies. Both committees also based their decisions, to a large extent, on studying a limited part of the record of the inquest.

In connection with the Masa decision, the following facts have now been established:

- The complainants were so keen to "score" against one man that, in correspondence, pressure was put on the committee to see the issue in a certain way. Members were, for instance, encouraged to read certain newspaper reports, described as "biased".

- Some of this correspondence, now being referred to in Masa as "not documents", will be available if an open inquiry into the issue is held.

- Although the impression was afterwards created that the Ethics Committee had the full record of the inquest



proceedings, they in fact had only three of the 23 volumes.

- Only three sets of the lengthy volumes were available to the four members who had to go through them in a limited time.

- All the members of the Ethics Committee would have preferred to have had access to the complete inquest record.

The Ethics Committee did not invite Dr Tucker to testify before them. They believed if they had he would not have agreed because of pressure on him from certain Government circles.

- The members knew of the three doctors in question and had had personal discussions with them, which to a certain extent must have influenced judgement.

A special inquiry held later by Masa revealed that doctors Lang and Tucker were forbidden by the Department of Health to appear before the Ethics Committee.

The members of this inquiry, however, found that Dr Langs medical certification of Mr Biko just before his death

was "unsatisfactory and incomplete".

Although members of the Ethics Committee have not been prepared to comment about their inquiry, which was held in camera, two of them have said that they believe important facts about the case had not come to light.

Said one, who would not be named: "There is a lot of ignorance about what has happened. "But even with more evidence our decision about Dr Tucker would have been the same."

One member of the committee spoken to said that if representatives for Biko's family had allowed the medical evidence at the inquest to proceed more spontaneously, additional important facts would have emerged.

"The only way these facts can come to light, and a satisfactory conclusion be reached, is through a full appraisal of all three doctors by the body with jurisdiction over all three, the Medical and Dental Council", said the man.

ENERGY SURVEY SHOWS SA LAGGING IN RESEARCH, DEVELOPMENT

Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 9 Mar 82 p 3

[Text]

CAPE TOWN. — South African research into energy lags far behind most of the developed countries of the world, according to a report by the Energy Research Institute of the University of Cape Town.

The report recommended that spending on energy research should be more than doubled.

The study said that in comparison with 17 countries in the International Energy Agency (IEA), South Africa spends less than 6% of the average on research into renewable energy resources.

Even more surprising in view of South Africa's reliance on coal was that only Italy spends less than the Republic on coal research.

Only in the area of nuclear research does South Africa compare with other developed countries.

The IEA countries used for comparison were Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, West Germany, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, the United States

and Britain.

The report said that it was obvious that South Africa with its great reliance on coal has "completely inadequate" spending on coal research.

In view of the country's internal reliance on coal, coal's export potential and its future use for liquid fuels, the report said that South Africa should be spending at least as much on coal research and development as other large coal users.

The report said South Africa should be spending five times as much as it is on energy conservation, twice as much on electric power, three times as much on energy storage and a staggering 20 times as much on new energy forms.

However, South Africa spends 82% of its total energy research funding on nuclear power, which compares with the leaders, Italy with 86% and Japan with 84%. Both these countries are heavily dependent on imported energy.

The report said that the total amount spent was not excessive — about 33% of Japanese spending — but appeared so in comparison with the very low funding for general energy research.

CSO: 4700/977

PROFESSOR ESTERHUYSE WINS 'TIMES' LITERARY AWARD

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 28 Feb 82 p 26

[Article by Fleur de Villiers: "The 'Heretic' Prof Who Saw it All Coming"]

[Text]

**"The sharing of power between the white, coloured and Asian population groups is in my opinion inevitable" — "Apartheid Must Die".**

WHEN Professor Willie Esterhuyse, Broeder extraordinary, Nationalist academic, leading NG churchman and professor of philosophy at the University of Stellenbosch, wrote those concluding words to "Apartheid Must Die" some 18 months ago he knew he was committing heresy.

The concept of power-sharing was anathema to doctrinaire Nationalists such as Dr Andries Treurnicht and was scarcely whispered behind closed doors by consenting verligtes.

Nevertheless, as he said at the time, he had nailed his articles of faith to the door of the Nationalist temple. And he was prepared to stand by them.

But if Willie Esterhuyse was reviled by many of his fellows as a heretic, he was also recognised by a few as a prophet — and one of extraordinary courage.

This week his prophecy came true — and he was rewarded both in the political and the personal arena.

## Coincidence

A Nationalist Prime Minister finally committed himself publicly to power-sharing and the high priests of apartheid left the fold.

It is therefore a fitting and a happy coincidence that in this historic week "Apartheid Must Die" has been recognised as the book which contributed most to the political debate in South Africa and has received the R2 500 Sunday Times literary award for political writing.

And it is another apt coincidence that tomorrow, a sequel, "Die Pad van Hervorming" (The Path of Reform), will reach the booksellers.

When the Sunday Times award was first announced in May 1980, we said that never before in South Africa's history had there been a greater need for original, innovative thinking by political scientists, economists, sociologists and other writers in fields that touch the nation's affairs.

The prize was intended to stimulate the debate and thus make a positive contribution to breaking the logjam in South African politics.

We were not disappointed. The 22 entries ranged from Henry Kenney's fine analysis of Verwoerd in "Architect of Apartheid" to Barry Streek's and Richard Wicksteed's damning account of post-independence Transkei, "Render unto Kaiser"; from a collection of political essays by Dr Willem de Klerk to a "Review of Race Discrimination in South Africa", edited by Sheila van der Horst.

## Frightening

Each in its way charts the effects and the failure of the Verwoerdian legacy so dispassionately examined by Kenney — from Smit and Booysen's frightening analysis of black urbanisation (the rock on which Verwoerdian separate development finally foundered) to the Afrikaner's search for a path out of the wreckage as exemplified in the oft-agonised musings of a Willem de Klerk.

Why then did the judges, leading coloured educationist Franklin Sonn, Prof Gerrit Olivier of the University of Pretoria, and chairman Prof John Barratt of the South African Institute of International Affairs, decide that "Apartheid Must Die" was the most important book of the year?

"We were asked to decide which book had had the most impact on the political debate in South Africa," says Mr Sonn. "And there really could be no other choice."

"There are two ways of dealing with the Afrikaner — through his faith and through his history. Professor Esterhuyse attacked the basic tenets of his political belief — and he did it on moral grounds."

"At the same time he wrote as a distraught, engaged and compassionate Afrikaner — and thus kept his readers on his side."

It is a perceptive comment.

As Prof Esterhuyse recalled this week: "I wrote that book because I found myself in a moral crisis. I wanted to rid myself of stereotyped thinking."

"And I found afterwards that I had somehow struck a chord and interpreted the moral disquiet of many Afrikaners."

"Afrikanerdom today is beset with uncertainty," Franklin Sonn says.

"With sensitivity and understanding, Prof Esterhuysen analysed this uncertainty, explained it and showed why — on moral grounds — racial discrimination is indefensible.

## Courage

"Given his background, it must have taken an act of great courage to present it to the publisher, but in doing so he performed the role of an Old Testament prophet, warning his people of their transgressions.

"The writing of 'Apartheid Must Die' was a prophetic act."

Prof Barratt agrees.

Willie Esterhuysen's book contributed in no small measure to the breakthrough away from apartheid and to a new and fresh approach within Afrikaner ranks, he says.

"He was willing to write deeply and even radically about sensitive issues. He was willing to lay it all out on the table — both past mistakes and present challenges.

"Despite his close affiliation with the church he was willing to write critically about the morality of racial discrimination and he was not afraid to link political and moral problems.

"I believed at the time of the judging that his final chapter — which

looks at the possibility of reform — was a shade too optimistic. Perhaps, in the light of this week's events, I was wrong.

## Raw nerve

"And there is little doubt that 'Apartheid Must Die' contributed to the climate of thought which enabled Mr P W Botha to use a previously unthinkable phrase like power-sharing."

Other contenders for the prize, rewarded instead with special mentions, were "Swart Verstedeliking: Poses, Patroon en Strategie" by Dr Flip Smit of the Human Sciences Research Council and Mr Jan Booysen of the University of Pretoria, and that accurate examination and now seminal book on the modern Afrikaner: "Afrikanermag: Opkoms en Toekoms", by Hermann Giliomee and Heribert Adam.

The Smit-Booyesen work was an important book, says Prof Gerrit Olivier.

"It faced South Africa with an empirical reality — the burning problem of our cities.

"It focused attention on the fact that a revolutionary situation could develop unless urgent attention is given to the upward mobility of black people.

"And it demanded some kind of response."

A response of a kind has already been made. Late last year Dr Smit was appointed special adviser to the Government on black urbanisation.

The perceptive Giliomee-Adam book, while recognised by the judges as the definitive work on the current crisis in Afrikanerdom, lost out because, for all its insights, it "failed to touch a raw nerve in South African politics".

"It was an appeal to the understanding," says Sonn.

"But Esterhuysen's book was a cry from the heart."

That judgment itself is an accurate commentary, not merely on the passions and the concerns of political writers in South Africa today, but on the agonising dilemma within Afrikanerdom which this week finally split the tribe.

It is surely not accidental that the winner and the two runners-up were books by leading thinkers within the world of Afrikaner verligtheid.

Nor that two of them — and indeed many of the other entries — had as their primary concern the Afrikaner's search for a path out of the maze of his past.

South Africa's problems and its future are not the concern of the Afrikaner alone, but only the most radical left winger would deny that solutions cannot be found without his participation, acquiescence and leadership.

— That because all visible political power is vested in their hands, the most important debate in South Africa today is the debate within the ranks of the Afrikaners themselves.

## Critical

Gerrit Olivier sums up: "The debate over apartheid is at a critical stage, the outcome of which will affect our future and determine what sort of society we will be.

"There is growing scepticism within Afrikaner ranks over apartheid as a paradigm for development. If apartheid is entrenched there will be further conflict and we will be in a no-win situation.

"If we can replace it with a philosophy for peaceful co-existence, there is hope for the future. And the Afrikaner must make the major contribution to this debate.

"The scope of the debate shows just how unmonolithic Afrikanerdom has become.

"There is among the new generation of academics great concern about the road ahead, about how to modernise and humanise our political system.

"These are all signs of an intellectual revolution, preparing the way for a new model."

Those academics have come a long way since 1977 when Mr John Vorster told them to return to their ivory tower and leave politics to the politicians.

They did not and there are signs — although the cross-fertilisation between Parliament and academe is still not what it could be — that today the politicians are listening more attentively to what the dissenting voices from Stellenbosch, Pretoria and Potchefstroom are trying to tell them.

But — and this is an important caveat — it will be listened to, however reluctantly, only for as long as it is a loyal protest.

"So long as they don't regard themselves as dissidents," says Olivier, "they will continue to play a role."

Which leaves the rest of us — where? What role can and do the tribalised Afrikaner, the English and black writers play in this debate?

The answer — with few notable exceptions — is very little.

Until the Afrikaner resolves the clamorous dilemma within his own soul, he will hear other voices but dimly. Not that those other voices are making much of an effort to make themselves heard.

English-speaking South Africa, long sidelined by Afrikaner power, has become polarised by its own weakness: a large and growing segment appears to have been frightened into a mixture of heedless materialism and head-down conservatism, while at the other end of the spectrum a group of self-labelled neo-marxists regard the whole debate over peaceful transition as irrelevant and make common cause with the ANC.

Neither have black political writers and academics shown as yet much desire to shake off their slogans and get down to the hard business of making a positive contribution to the discussion.

Because of the peculiar pressures on them, it will take a great deal of courage to throw their hats into the ring.

But, as Professor Olivier remarks, "they like the rest of us are part of the problem and they must be party to the search for a solution."

And there are other disappointments — succinctly expressed by John Barratt.

"Too many writers are hung up on constitutional models and don't address the real issues.

"A major point in Esterhuyse's favour was that he rejected the search for final blueprints and looked at an immediate problem.

"The name of the game as he saw it was consultation and negotiation with blacks and coloureds, not an attempt to impose constitutional models on them."

Barratt also found the debate too restricted. Academics are writing for academics in academic jargon which keeps them out of the public arena.

And each segment of society is locked into its own debate.

There is no English-Afrikaner discussion, no black-white debate. Each is speaking to his own group.

"And there is also very little attempt to integrate political and economic issues."

Fair enough. But perhaps, a far more important criticism voiced by academics and opinion-makers from abroad — and echoed by all three judges — is the appalling absence of competent and informed opinion in South Africa about events beyond its boundaries.

## Obsession

If — as Professor Olivier says — there has been an explosion of political literature in recent years, by South Africans, of South Africans and for South Africans, that literature has been largely concerned with navel-gazing.

If we have taken over from the Gwendolen Carters and other for-

eign political scientists as the best analysts of our own situation, our obsession with South Africa's internal dynamics has tended dangerously to dilute our interest in the rest of the world, and more particularly in the rest of the continent on which we live.

Intellectually isolated and endlessly fascinated by the dilemma within, South Africa's best political writers have ignored events beyond its borders.

For all the growing sophistication which they bring to the internal problem, a perilous naivete is being applied to global and more particularly African politics.

The result is that that simplistic cliché — the total onslaught — is allowed to go unchallenged and policies for the future are being framed in terms of shibboleths.

There is, says Prof Olivier, a worrying tendency to reductionism and over-simplification in much of South African political thinking, especially as it relates to events we don't — and have not bothered to — understand.

Much the same was true of political writing about South Africa before the flowering of the current great debate.

It is to be hoped that in the not-too-distant future the depth of understanding that a Willie Esterhuyse, a Hermann Giliomee or a Flip Smit can bring to the burning central issues of South African politics will find a matching echo in those who examine events beyond our borders.

As peripheral as those events may appear today, they could yet play an equal part in shaping our future with the events that this week changed the face of South African politics.



# IDEOLOGICAL, MORAL CONFUSION OF YOUNG AFRIKANERS EXAMINED

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 7 Mar 82 p 38

[Extract from a paper by Dr Andre Du Toit: "Facing Up to the Future--the Dilemma of Young Afrikaners"]

[Text]

**WHAT** must be the impact of the inevitability of change and the moral basis for reform on the political perceptions of young Afrikaner intellectuals?

The young cannot but view the future differently from their elders if only because they can, and must, look further ahead.

The incumbent political leadership is evidently preoccupied with the tactical and strategic issues of the present critical situation.

But to young Afrikaners now entering university or setting out on professional careers, their future must mean a time span of at least 25 or 30 years.

Given the prevailing assumptions about the direction of change, that must surely raise the possibility of having to live in a South Africa where the apartheid society has been dismantled or overturned and where Afrikaners will be a minority group without any monopoly of political power.

Put in its starkest form, young Afrikaners have to face the serious possibility that some form of black majority rule will come about in their own lifetimes ... and they will have to live with it.

## Anathema

The thought that they themselves as Afrikaners may well yet have to live with black majority rule in South Africa is a thought that powerfully concentrates the Afrikaner's political mind.

It is also a thought which sets those young Afrikaners who begin to contemplate it apart from their elders who, in one way or another, manage to avoid facing up to this particular future.

Political discussion for white South Africans tends to be concerned with such policies and strategies as may avoid or postpone or, perhaps, ameliorate the coming of black majority rule.

But the more far-sighted younger Afrikaners of today are forced to face up to a different kind of future on the other side of

that unthinkable, but perhaps inevitable, watershed in South Africa's political history.

They may not be at all clear about the way in which the transition (or the revolution) may come about.

They may have even less clarity about the political institutions or social and economic structures which are likely to take the place of the apartheid state.

But there can be little doubt that, if and when blacks acquire substantial political power, they will also demand a major share of economic and social opportunities and sweep away many entrenched white privileges.

More particularly, a future black government cannot but regard the apartheid order, and the whole political legacy of Afrikaner Nationalism, as anathema.

Where would that leave future Afrikaners if, once Afrikaner Nationalism has lost its exclusive monopoly on political power, they remain identified with the burdens of Afrikaner Nationalist history?

If the policies and strategies of the Nationalist leadership now in power should fail in their intention to avoid or indefinitely postpone the coming of black majority government, then the full political price will, in the long run, be paid by the present younger generation of Afrikaners.

The nature and extent of that "price" is not fixed, however.

It will depend on many things: the nature and actual events of the transition, the composition and objectives of the new ruling party or coalition, the residual power bases of whites in general and Afrikaners in particular, the needs of the economy.

It will also depend on the light in which a black majority might regard the legitimacy of Afrikaner claims for cultural rights or their aspirations to remain a distinct ethnic community.

From this perspective, the close and continued association at the present time of Afrikaner Nationalism with the politics of apartheid, and even more so the identification of all Afrikaners and of Afrikaner culture generally with Afrikaner Nationalism in this sense, must become highly problematic.

## **Risks**

The very politics of ethnic mobilisation which in the past had served the Afrikaner cause so well for so long must now appear to involve very high risks.

At a general and somewhat abstract level the risk is that, if Afrikaner culture is tied in too closely with the power structure of the apartheid state, then a possible failure of Afrikaner Nationalist power must involve more than a political defeat only.

A black liberation movement coming to power and sweeping away what it regards as the oppressive structures and symbols of apartheid can hardly be expected not to regard the cultural institutions, social values and ethnic symbols of Afrikaners as very much part and parcel of that same oppressive system.

After all, they would only be taking Afrikaner Nationalism at its own word.

Nationalists insist that Afrikaner survival cannot be separated from continued Afrikaner Nationalist power.

This may be a comforting rationale as long as the Nationalist power structure remains intact.

But in the face of any realistic prospect of some kind of actual black majority rule, this Nationalist strategy of harnessing all possible Afrikaner cultural and ethnic resources to bolster Nationalist power (and thus ensure Afrikaner survival) is revealed as a desperate, high-risk, all-or-nothing gamble.

## **Sensible**

But is this linkage, in fact, necessary at all?

Given the limited base of Nationalist power, and hence its essential fragility, would it not better serve the cause of long-term Afrikaner survival to sever this close identification of Afrikaner cultural concerns and the policies and racial ideologies espoused by the National Party, if that could be done?

Young Afrikaners may begin to cast a much more critical eye on the policies and actions of the Nationalist leadership as possibly endangering their own future.

At a more immediate and individual level they may, for instance, begin to

have second thoughts whether it is so advisable any longer to take the traditional Nationalist route via Afrikaner student organisations, cultural associations, the Ruiterswag, Rapportryers and, ultimately, the Broederbond in order to secure professional advancement, cultural influence or even political power.

For the sake of their own careers it may in future prove more sensible to avoid the kind of Nationalist institutional involvement which had proved so useful to many Afrikaners, whether or not they themselves had Nationalist convictions, as long as stable Nationalist power lasted.

In various ways the general prospect of the possible end of Nationalist power may thus begin to affect the present political orientations of Afrikaners, and of the young in particular.

Only by actually demonstrating that Afrikaner culture can be a creative and liberating force in the wider South African society could it begin to vindicate its claims on individual Afrikaners, or earn the necessary respect of other groups once more.

How, might this be done?

In general, and at a fairly abstract level, some broad hints might be attempted:

## **Protest**

These amount to so many ways of saying that, whenever the imperatives of Afrikaner Nationalist hegemony come into conflict with the need for social and political reform, the former should give way.

And that whenever attempts to use Afrikaner culture or institutions in creative and liberating ways would pose a critical threat to the Nationalist

establishment or endanger Afrikaner ethnic unity, the claims of the latter should be overruled.

At an individual level, Afrikaner intellectuals and others should, if this is indeed the logic of their moral and political convictions, be prepared to distance themselves publicly from the Nationalist establishment and power structure to come out in open criticism and protest against unjust policies and practices, and to stand and work in solidarity with non-Afrikaners in common causes even, and especially, where this might involve supporting black movements on their own terms.

## **Role**

If such individuals could do this as Afrikaners, then the personal costs in terms of social pressures from within the Afrikaner community and of penalties by the Nationalist establishment (such as damage to career opportunities, etc) might be offset by gains in terms of a different public perception of the possible role of Afrikaners in a future South African society.

Only Afrikaners themselves can prove by word and deed, to themselves and to others, that they are capable of making a creative and constructive contribution to a common South African future.

The upshot of trends and strategies of this kind may well be the end of Afrikaner nationalism and

of Nationalist power based on ethnic unity.

It may mean the desegregation of Afrikaner institutions, and the dispersal and incorporation of individual Afrikaners in a variety of non-Afrikaner contexts.

## **Revitalised**

It does not follow, however, that in such an eventuality various groups of Afrikaner farmers, workers, businessmen, technocrats or bureaucrats would not each have some power base of their own, or that they might not still figure effectively in future political alliances of various kinds.

It is by no means to be ruled out that Afrikaner institutions will not be enhanced and revitalised, rather than swamped, when they come to serve wider and more heterogeneous constituencies and are no longer confined to an exclusive racial group.

And individual Afrikaners might even find that the loss of privileges based on an oppressive racial order is more than offset by the opening of opportunities in a wider range of social and cultural contexts.

Afrikaner survival beyond the end of Nationalist rule and the apartheid state cannot, of course, possibly be guaranteed... except insofar as Afrikaners have the moral and political courage to act in such ways that they are able to convince themselves and others that such survival is indeed worthwhile and legitimate.

FREIGHT SERVICES PURCHASE OF AMERICAN EXPRESS REPORTED

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES-BUSINESS TIMES in English 7 Mar 82 p 3

[Article by John Spiral]

[Text]

A NEW R100-million South African travel giant came into being this week when Freight Services bought the American Express travel business in this country.

The deal includes authorisation for the Freight Services subsidiary, Musgrove & Watson, and its other travel subsidiaries to operate as an integral part of the American Express worldwide network.

Musgrove & Watson, which will change its name to Freight Services Travel, now has the facility of issuing American Express traveller's cheques.

Since American Express currently issues 55% of all traveller's cheques bought in South Africa, Freight Services Travel will have a new and highly lucrative string to its bow.

The immediate effect of the two-part deal will be to establish a South African super-agency with 30 branches, annual travel sales approaching R100-million and a wide range of services.

The agency will operate under the American Express name and will offer the full spectrum of American Express's travel products and travel-related financial services.

The next phase will be the incorporation of Freight Services' 19 travel offices in Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, SWA-Namibia, Swaziland and Zimbabwe under the American Express banner.

Neville Organ, chief executive of the Freight Services group, tells *Business Times*:

"Even before this development, Musgrove & Watson was, by a considerable margin, the largest travel agency in South Africa.

"The addition of the American Express travel operation has given it a market share of almost 15% and has taken Freight Services significantly further along the road to its stated objective of capturing 20% of the South African market by 1986.

"Musgrove & Watson and our other travel interests had grown to the point where the logical next step was to go international.

"The agreement with American Express provides us with an ideal opportunity of achieving that aim — without diluting the ownership of our existing interests."

Worldwide, American Express provides business and holiday services through more than 1 000 offices in 126 countries.

Other American Express services which will be available through the combined operation include:

- The American Express worldwide corporate hotel rate facility, which gives business travellers discounts of between 10% and 35% at major hotels.
- Late arrival and express

- check-out facilities at hotels.
- A round-the-clock hotline emergency service.
- Mail holding and general office facilities throughout the world.
- The meet-and-assist services at airports.

Locally, domestic travellers will benefit from the expanded network and from the greater resources which will now be dedicated to the two areas Freight Services considers of crucial importance to the future of the travel industry — higher level of training and of automation.

"In short, we are looking at presenting the market with a complete travel package which is unique in its comprehensiveness, its facilities and in the resources which support it," says Anthony Salusbury, managing director of the combined operation.

## CONCOR INVOLVEMENT IN SOUTH AMERICAN PROJECTS REPORTED

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES-BUSINESS TIMES in English 7 Mar 82 p 5

[Article by Vera Beljakova: "Concor Strides Out in South America"]

[Text]

**CONCOR Construction, the South African civil engineering contractor, is working on South American projects worth more than R700-million.**

This immense involvement in South America was revealed to Business Times by Concor Construction, a wholly owned subsidiary of the giant Concor construction group with total assets of R40-million, an annual net after-tax profit of R3,4-million for 1981 and a market capitalisation of R18-million.

The disclosure of the size of Concor's South American connection comes in the wake of the subsidiary's announcement that it has been awarded an R25-million road and bridge contract by the Paraguayan Government.

Admittedly, the contract is in joint venture on a 50-50 basis with Sweden's Swanska. Both will participate in opening up the barely habitable but mosquito-infested Indian territory of Gran Chaco.

Concor is simultaneously working on its largest-ever project, the R500-million Majes irrigation scheme in Peru, which is being under-

taken by a five-nation Macon consortium that includes, once again, Swanska, Tarmac (UK), Foundation (Canada) and Entrecanales (Spain).

Its activities in South America have indeed taken on a more permanent character, and justifiably earned it the reputation of contending for the more unusual type of contract — on its own or in joint venture.

Concor Construction is also busy on various other Peruvian projects, though in a sub-contractor capacity, and hence is keeping a low profile.

In Bolivia it has recently completed a flour mill, notable for its 100% South African content and Cape Steel-supplied metals.

Concor is further working on projects in Argentina and Ecuador.

"We aim to penetrate much further into South America," says a spokesman. "It is logical for us to have gained a foothold there, since South Africa is a welcome partner in Latin America."

"It is prudent to pursue contract opportunities there, but we intend to concentrate on long-term projects that will help flatten out our adverse economic cycles in South Africa."

Concor has achieved success in South America because "we persevere in the face of hardship, working a

difficult area where winning contracts is a major feat".

While the boom was on in South Africa and local construction companies grew fat on the local pickings, Concor slipped into South America, cleaning up the market there which had been left unprotected or unattended by its competitors.

The Paraguayan project calls for the construction of a 148km road linking Poso Colorado with Concepcion, and a 1,2km bridge across the Rio Paraguay, South America's fourth-largest river. The main river spans are 170m and 60m.

As the area suffers from extremely poor drainage and seasonal flooding, 80km of the road will be built 1,5m above ground level.

The road will play a vital role in opening up the desolate Gran Chaco used almost exclusively for ranching. No doubt its construction will play havoc with the lifestyle of the Indian tribes, but this mosquito-infested land is needed for agricultural and industrial use.

It will link up with the Asuncion-Bolivian Trans Chaco highway, thus decreasing the road distance to Paraguay's export harbours on the Brazilian coast.

River barges will transport local and imported building materials from Concepcion.



## RISE IN CONSUMER SPENDING REPORTED

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES-BUSINESS TIMES in English 7 Mar 82 p 44

[Article by Elizabeth Rouse]

[Text]

**SOUTH** African private consumer spending rose by 19% to around R37 000-million in 1981, with more than R9 000-million a quarter being laid out in the last three quarters of the year.

However, allowing for an inflation rate of 14,5%, the increase in real spending has been estimated at only 4,5% by the Reserve Bank.

Spending on non-durable goods was running at over R4 000-million quarterly for most of the year.

The public, with bigger take-home pay, decided to indulge itself from the middle of 1980, when quarterly non-durable goods expenditure rose to R3 600-million... and kept on rising to last year's record level.

They could also afford to replace durable goods such as cars and white goods, and semi-durable goods — clothes, furnishings.

Quarterly spending on durables rose to more than R1 000-million a quarter for the first time in history at the end of 1980, and stayed above that level over the four quarters.

Expenditure on semi-durables peaked at almost R1 700-million in the December 1980 quarter and probably surpassed that mark in the December 1981 quarter after running at around R1 600-million in the September quarter.

Taken at current prices, total private consumer spending increased by 138% from R15 675-million in 1975 to R31 154-million in 1980.

However, a comparison based on constant 1975 prices gives a truer picture of the real growth in private consumer spending. The increase is 15,2% to R18 058-million in 1980 from the 1975 base.

The perspective is slightly distorted, however, as the buying scene has changed since 1975, especially in the television and electronics consumer sector.

Nevertheless, the 1975 constant price comparisons of spending in various sectors give an interesting view of how real spending has changed in eight years.

Based on current prices, spending on petrol, oil and grease rose by an astonishing 181%. Based on constant 1975 prices, car owners actually decreased fuel spending by 5,3%.

Similarly, they cut down on buying of books, newspapers and magazines by 5,2%.

Although spending on household services and domestic servants rose in 48%

over the eight years, the real increase was a mere 3,1%.

People were either healthier or reluctant to spend money on medical and pharmaceutical products. The current price increase was 96,5% while the real increase was 5,6%.

At current prices they spent 87,6% more on entertainment, recreational and cultural services (except hotels, restaurants and cafes) and education. The real increase was 4,5%.

People were prepared to splurge on satisfying their craving for tobacco (spending up 28% in real terms over eight years), beverages (up almost 25%) or on raising their living standard by spending 26,7% more on non-durable household goods.

Medical services, which include doctors, did not do badly over the past eight years. On a current price basis, 120% more was spent on medical services while in actual terms the increase was 25%.

## SOUTH AFRICA

### BACKGROUND ON FORMATION OF ENYATI RESOURCES GIVEN

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES-BUSINESS TIMES in English 28 Feb 82 p 1

[Article by Elizabeth Rouse]

[Text] The parties involved in the formation of Enyati Resources, the unique multi-million Triton group company shortly to be listed on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange, played a cloak and dagger game ranging from Mauritius to Houston in the US.

While Triton's Laurence Goldberg was tying up a \$20-million deal with Eaton Industries, an independent Houston oil service company, an intricate share operation was conducted behind the scenes over a period of three months on the JSE.

The sponsoring brokers for the Triton group's Enyati Resources directed its dealers in November last year to quietly pick up parcels of Barlows shares which were needed in the Triton group's takeover of Enyati Colliery.

The shares formed part of the deal in which Enyati Colliery was acquired by Triton and Triton Energy Holdings, to be turned into Enyati Resources, the first company to give South Africans a direct investment in US oil and gas exploration.

Most of Enyati's shareholders were Mauritians and in consideration for agreeing to the proposal that Enyati Resources acquire the 24,2% of New Bernica Coke Company not already owned by Enyati Colliery, they were given the option of taking 800c a share cash or 800c payable in Barlows shares.

Mauritian shareholders enthusiastically plumped for the deal after sitting for years on a low-priced and slim-yielding share. But they surprised Triton by opting more for Barlows shares rather than taking rands.

Triton's first estimate was that about 200 000 Barlows would be required, but when individual shareholders were approached by Triton's merchant bank representatives in Mauritius, it soon became clear that substantially more shares would be needed.

The final parcel of shares was picked up this week without anyone the wiser. And the market never twitched, although industrials were firm and active over most of the buying operation period.

Enyati comes to the market at a discount--the company's cash and shares are worth R11 a share against the R8 paid.

The acquisition of a 50,1% stake in Eaton Industries for \$6,2-million has its speculative aspect in that oil strikes cannot be guaranteed (although prospecting will be in known oil-rich areas). However, as an oil service company, Eaton has guaranteed profits.

Enyati's \$30-million investment will be matched by that of an associate in Europe (name not disclosed) and more funds will be raised from the US public. By US standards Eaton is already a significant force in the independent oil service field.

If it strikes oil on its own account South Africa will benefit in that the US oil can be exchanged through other sources. Mr Goldberg's ambition is to see this oil refined in South Africa, whose sophisticated refineries will become increasingly under-employed the larger Sasol becomes.

CSO: 4700/977

TRAINING, RECRUITMENT OF TOP PROFESSIONALS VITAL TO GROWTH

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES-BUSINESS TIMES in English 28 Feb 82 p 1

[Article by Elizabeth Rouse]

[Text]

SOUTH Africa will have to produce an additional 250 000 top professional men and women within the next 10 years if economic growth is not to be stifled.

This is the estimated shortfall at the top in industry and business in the next decade — given an annual economic growth rate of 2%-3% — according to projections made by Human Resources Development, a division of South Africa's largest management consulting group, P. E Consulting.

The top level category includes scientists, engineers, people with diplomas and all professional and managerial staff.

Of necessity, they will still have to come mainly from the white sector of the population over the next decade.

This relatively large percentage growth at the narrow top of South Africa's labour pyramid will be essential to lead, manage and direct an estimated economically active population of just under 19-million by the year 2 000. The current economically active population is 11.5-million.

The shortfall in the next echelon — clerical and office workers, salesmen, draughtsmen, secretaries — is estimated at 1.5-million. Whites will still make up the majority in this work category, so the shortfall of white clerical and office workers is estimated at 1-million.

The shortfall in skilled and semi-skilled staff, mainly black, will be around 7.5-million, according to Human Resources Development's projections for the next 10 years.

Professor J L Sadie, manpower expert at the University of Stellenbosch, places

projected requirements in the white-collar worker category (for whites only) at a total of 576 000 from 1980 to 2 000.

This work category is broken down as follows: 136 000 executives, 139 000 skilled, 295 000 semi-skilled and 6 000 unskilled workers.

Professor Sadie has also done a projection of training requirements for the years 1979 to 1987.

At management level total demand for training is 484 772.

That means that training facilities will have to be large enough to cope with almost 3-million people.

Barlows chairman Mik Rosholt, recently stressing the importance of training South Africa's workers, said the national bill would be R1 200-million a year if the country spent R125 per employee on training (as Barlows does).

Mr Rosholt considered this to be a modest amount as the seemingly huge spending represents a mere 2% of South Africa's 1980 gross domestic product.

"Revotti Dr T delfanti" — Headline in daily newspaper following this week's Transvaal National Party caucus walk-out.

"South Africa will have to produce an additional 250 000 top professional men and women in the next 10 years if economic growth is to be maintained."

— Human Resources Division, South Africa's largest management consulting group

ALRIGHT, so the high-level manpower shortage is not hot news. So we now have a manpower commission, apparently generous tax concessions for supervisory and other training, skills schools bursting at the seams, a new report on education — you name it.

But 25 000 additional executives and professionals a year?

Above all else, that's why South Africa cannot easily expect to average a growth rate of 5%-plus annually. The fact that so many will have to come from the ranks of the blacks who, by their own admission, have first to undergo a culture transfer, will certainly not facilitate the challenge.

Barlows may spend R125 a head on training its people (see story on this page).

Barlow's chairman Mike Rosholt may multiply this to reach a modest annual target of R1 200-million as the necessary national bill (only 2% of gross domestic product!) for basic training of workers.

But managers?

If you're one, and business has blossomed in the past two years, how have you coped?

Perhaps you are one of the fortunate few with enough

clout and cash to have cornered the additional help you needed — people with the right competence not only to produce the goods but also to oil your operating systems: keep those "last straws" off your back.

Unfortunately, most have a very different tale to tell. A tale of playing, not *manager* or *technocrat* but (50% of the time?) messenger, primary school teacher, machine-minder, typist even.

In a word, mismanagement-manager.

Thus, for many, it is proving a relief to kiss the boom — instead of their sanity — good-bye.

An important question emerges. If it needs R1 200-million to train the mainstream, what will it need to train the necessary managers and like-level "professionals?"

At a conservative R20 000 a head, the answer is R5 000-million in the next 10 years.

Three messages emerge:

- Money is not the problem. R5 000-million is less than 1% of the likely GNP in the next decade.

- Facilities are not the problem. There is no reason why the universities, business schools and companies themselves should not be able to do the job — provided they plan and manage themselves properly.

- Incentive and imagination are the problems.

As long as there are men like Dr Andries Treurnicht (or black radicals) with power, the prospects of substantial relief must be less than bright.



DETAILS ON EXPLOSIVES MARKET GIVEN

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES-BUSINESS TIMES in English 28 Feb 82 p 4

[Article by Andrew McNulty]

[Text]

**THE R250-million explosives market — dominated by AECL — could soon be thrown wide open.**

AECL has for decades been almost the sole supplier to this market as a result of an agreement with the Chamber of Mines, which requires mines that are members of the Chamber — well over 95% of the country's gold, coal and base metal mines — to obtain their explosives from AECL.

I understand that the Competitions Board has completed a report on the monopolistic explosives industry and that a copy was sent to the Government this week.

At least one interested party is confident that the report may recommend that AECL's hold should be loosened.

Hanhill/SCT's Oliver Hill, chairman of National Explosives, has spent some five years battling to penetrate the market with water gel explosives designed by Du Pont, the world's largest chemical company.

National Explosives has, so far, achieved annual sales of R6-million.

If the explosives market — now worth R250-million and growing at between 10% to 15% annually — is opened to free competition, National Explosives will be aiming for a share of 15% to 20%, which means it could have explosives sales of about R80-million in five years if targets are achieved.

Mr Hill is already planning a stronger presence in explosive accessories, and is developing a R2.5-million detonating cord plant.

"We would like to get 15% to 20% of the accessories market," he says.

The question of a possible break-up of the explosives monopoly raises other interesting questions.

For the Government, there may be an attractive opportunity to dissolve a stranglehold by English business on a major industry.

An open explosives market may present a tempting new avenue for Sasol as it pursues its aims of diversifying its chemical activities further downstream.

An offensive by Sasol into explosives — either alone or in partnership with a company such as National Explosives — could well be on the cards.

# FINANCIAL SYNDICATE FORMED TO FOSTER DEVELOPMENT

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES-BUSINESS TIMES in English 7 Mar 81 p 1

[Article by John Spira: 'Huge 'New Deal' To Finance SA Growth"]

[Text]

**A POWERFUL group of leading South African institutions with assets totalling more than R3 000-million has formed an association which could revolutionise the raising of capital for new projects.**

Dubbed the Project Finance Association (PFA), the syndicate forges a formidable combination of expertise and financial muscle to formulate and execute competitive, creative project finance packages.

The announcement comes at a time when the country's project finance needs are rapidly increasing in both size and complexity.

Members of the association are AA Mutual, Colonial Mutual, Commercial Union, Federated Insurance, Hill Samuel, Mercantile & General, Munich Reinsurance, National Mutual, Norwich Union and Southern Life.

Hill Samuel's Roger Grindy tells Business Times: "South Africa's growing

project finance needs place particular demands on the financial community and create the need for a syndicated association of this kind — a body which is able to meet the financial requirements of differing capital projects.

"In other words, this association, the first syndicate of its kind in the country, fills a distinct market gap."

Hill Samuel, adds Mr Grindy, has an excellent track record in international project finance, while the institutions making up the association — whose operations embrace life assurance, short-term insurance, reinsurance and pension-fund management — are well placed to provide the ideal funding package.

Target market for the PFA is the medium-sized project finance sphere. Hence it will be looking at packages ranging from R5-million to R30-

million, although larger requests will also be considered.

The PFA will market aggressively, offering specialised expertise as its main strength.

According to Mr Grindy: "With more than adequate financial muscle, we intend to translate initiative, creative ideas and effort into excellent project finance deals."

Broadly, the PFA will operate along the following lines.

When an opportunity is identified, details will be passed on to association members.

If the aggregate response indicates that sufficient

funds may be available, the potential borrower would be informed and told of the PFA's desire to submit a financial package.

The PFA has been formalised in terms of a simple operating agreement, so that:

- The borrower is aware of the formalised funding base.
- There is sufficient time to assemble a suitable group of members to put together a meaningful financial offer.
- A two-way flow of ideas is encouraged.

At the same time, the members of the PFA will continue to invest funds in various markets in their normal manner. The association therefore provides an additional outlet for funds with-

out disturbing each institution's investment relationships.

While the institutional members will provide the local funding component of a project, where appropriate, Hill Samuel will introduce its existing international syndication and foreign funding facilities.

Specifically, the PFA will provide a service in formulating financial structures, assessing financial feasibility, developing funding proposals and securing sources of finance for capital projects — all with the object of achieving what Mr Grindy describes as "the optimum balance of various sources of the most appropriate facilities".

ANC, CISKEI CRISIS, INDIAN REACTION TO ELECTION DISCUSSED

London THE AFRICAN COMMUNIST in English No 88, First Quarter 1982 pp 9-21

[Editorial Notes]

[Text]

The 70th anniversary of the African National Congress on January 8, 1982, sees the organisation at a pitch of power, influence and prestige higher than ever before in its history. It has established itself without doubt as the effective leader of the struggle of the oppressed people for liberation, and the importance of its role in shaping the destiny of our country is acknowledged by friend and foe alike.

A recent report on the South African political scene by the Rockefeller Foundation in the United States, acknowledging the premier role of the ANC, stressed that much of its appeal lies in its historical reputation as the oldest African nationalist movement.

"For the older generation it is comparable to a church that one is born into, the organisation that has carried on while others have come and gone."

This is only a part of the explanation. There were black organisations in South Africa both before and after 1912 which failed to survive the test of time. Yes for some the ANC may be like a church that one is born into, but today it holds the loyalty of increasing numbers of people, not purely for reasons of sentiment or tradition, but because it is a militant liberatory movement with a fighting policy which has won and is winning ever-increasing numbers of recruits for its crusade against white domination and exploitation. It does not fuddle the people with pretty stories about happiness in the next world, but offers salvation, justice and security for all in this world on the basis of sustained struggle for the achievement of the aims incorporated in its programme the Freedom Charter. It has survived and grown in strength because it has been pragmatic and flexible, capable of adaptation to changed circumstances, without departing from its fundamental principles.

An outline of the history of the ANC highlighting the salient features has been written for this issue of *The African Communist* by Gxobh'yeza Kwedini. We would also suggest to our readers that they study once again the speech delivered by the President of the ANC, Oliver Tambo, at the London meeting celebrating the 60th birthday of the SACP on July 30 last year, extracts from which were printed in the last issue of *The African*

*Communist*. The alliance of the ANC and the SACP which has been forged in the recent decades is one reason why our liberation movement has been able to deepen its revolutionary perspectives and intensify its revolutionary activity on all fronts, both inside and outside South Africa. President Tambo emphasised:

"Today the ANC and SACP have common objectives in the eradication of the oppressive and exploitative system that prevails in our country: the seizure of power and the exercise of their right to self-determination by all the people of South Africa. We share a strategic perspective of the task that lies ahead".

There is no doubt that it is the unity, consistency, determination and reliability of the ANC and the fact that it has its roots among the people which has won it the mass support it enjoys. It has carried out its policies with a combination of revolutionary fervour and responsible restraint which has effectively advanced the people's struggle. It has avoided the errors of sectarianism and adventurism which have destroyed many another "liberation" organisation. Though it has always maintained its character as a broad mass organisation, it has neither sunk beneath the weight of compromise nor shattered itself on the rocks of tribal or ideological conflict. We do not overlook the breakaways of the PAC in 1958 and the so-called Gang of 8 in the 1970s. But we think it fair to ask — where are they today? And where is the ANC?

Nobody disputes the leading role of the ANC and its military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe inside South Africa today. The repeated and heavy blows which have been struck against the enemy from one end of the country to the other have been delivered by Umkhonto and nobody else. The PAC and the Gang of 8 are nowhere to be found; nor any other group for that matter. In the military field there is only one organisation doing the fighting, and that is the ANC.

As important as the physical damage inflicted on the enemy is the manner in which these operations are carried out. These are not hit and run operations by isolated individuals who flee across the border to sanctuary in the frontline states as soon as their missions are completed. Umkhonto we Sizwe has shown that its units are capable of operating independently inside the country for long periods of time while at the same time maintaining contact with their HQ and co-ordinating their work on a nation-wide scale. The army of the ANC is sheltered and sustained by the people among whom it operates and from whom it derives its strength. *Without* this popular backing, it could not survive. *With* the support of the people Umkhonto is growing in strength, mobility and effectiveness from day to day.

Nor can the prestige of the ANC be measured solely in terms of its military successes, because these in turn stem from the political line of the organisation and the impact it is making on the masses. It is because the ANC stands for what the people want that it gets their support. A poll commissioned by the Johannesburg *Star*, the country's biggest white-owned paper and mouthpiece of the bosses, the results of which were published in its columns last September, clearly established that the ANC is the most popular political movement amongst Africans in the main centres. In answer to the question: "If you could vote for Parliament today who would you vote for?" the replies were as follows:

	All	Johannesburg	Durban	Cape Town
ANC	40%	47%	37%	28%
Inkatha	21%	20%	31%	5%
Azapo	11%	17%	6%	4%
PAC	10%	8%	12%	13%

These figures are worth studying in detail, for they are very revealing. They expose the boast of Buthelezi, for example, that his Zulu-based Inkatha has now replaced the ANC as the leading force for liberation in South Africa. Even in Durban, Buthelezi's main base, the ANC headed the poll. In Cape Town, where in the 1960 disturbances following the Sharpeville and Langa shootings the PAC under its charismatic student leader Kgosana paralysed the community with a three-week-long strike, nothing now remains of the PAC. And where is Kgosana the deliverer? And what of Johannesburg, where Sobukwe himself led his little group into action in 1960? What is left of the PAC there?

Equally significant is the prestige recorded by the poll of the ANC in the eyes of the Coloured and Indian communities, both of whom stated they had more confidence in the ANC than in any other African organisation. The ANC was the leading force in the Congress Alliance of the 1950s and 1960s and is still today the main proponent of unity amongst all national groups in the struggle against apartheid and in the building of the new South Africa outlined in the Freedom Charter. Clearly its message is getting across.

It is not only blacks who today look to the ANC for leadership out of the crisis to which the policies of the white racists have brought it. A small but significant section of the white community has always identified itself with the policies of the ANC and throughout this century there have been whites who fought against racism and exploitation side by side with their black comrades. In 1952 the Congress of Democrats was formed with the specific object of recruiting whites to take part in the Defiance Campaign and other activities of the Congress Alliance. Today more and more whites are turning to the ANC and responding to its initiatives.

They are not doing this on the basis of negrophilism or fear, but out of acceptance of the basic policies of the ANC as enshrined in the Freedom Charter. Here are a few references from the press:

"The most broadly representative gathering of political and social groups since the Black Renaissance Convention of 1973 took place in Durban at the week-end. But the tone differed sharply from the earlier meeting, held in the salad days of the black consciousness movement.

"A banner draped across the stage read: 'Long Live Congress'. In the most important of the resolutions of the two-day conference, hundreds of delegates from 109 organisations - with a combined membership of more than 300,000 - endorsed the Freedom Charter . . . Those present at the meeting came from a broad spectrum of community and labour groups. These included political organisations like the Natal Indian Congress and



the Transvaal Anti-SAIC Committee (TASC), unions like the SA Allied Workers' Union and the General and Allied Workers' Union, and sports bodies such as the SA Council on Sport. There were also civic bodies such as the Durban Housing Action Committee and student groups including the Congress of SA Students and the Azanian Students' Organisation. Even predominantly white bodies — the Students' Representative Councils of major English-language universities and the Black Sash — who would have been anathema in the black consciousness era — were there". The meeting had been called to voice popular opposition to the elections for the stodge South African Indian Council due to be held on November 4. Among those on the platform were Mrs Albertina Sisulu, Mrs Albert Lutuli and Mrs Monty Naicker. (*Star*, October 16, 1981).

"Nothing short of what is contained in the Freedom Charter can bring stability to South Africa, a meeting (in Johannesburg) attended by more than 400 people to protest against the recent spate of detentions was told yesterday . . . Speakers included student leaders, community workers and trade unionists". (*The Sowetan*, October 14, 1981).

"About 150 people gathered at the St Francis of Assisi Anglican Church in Soweto yesterday to celebrate the 26th anniversary of the adoption of the Freedom Charter. Speaker after speaker condemned the Nats rule and said they could not ignore the Freedom Charter any longer. Dr Motlana (chairman of the Soweto Committee of Ten) said although the Charter had been drafted 26 years ago, what the document demanded of South Africa is what is demanded by everybody even today. The national flag, with the black, green and gold colours was hoisted during the service and ANC pamphlets and copies of the Freedom Charter were distributed". (*The Sowetan*, June 29, 1981).

The founding conference of the ANC in 1912, attended by hundreds of delegates from all over South Africa, was not reported in a single white South African newspaper. For years the very existence of the ANC was virtually ignored by the white racists. Not any more. Today, with the parliamentary "opposition" more and more displaying impotence, passivity and compromise in the face of the regime's aggression at home and abroad, the policies, slogans, songs, colours and initiatives of the ANC are evident everywhere in South Africa. More and more South Africans are coming to see the ANC as the real and only defender of the people, spear of the nation, the architect and builder of the future South Africa for which all freedom fighters are struggling and many have given their lives. Even some Nat. politicians and pressmen are calling for consultations instead of confrontation.

We Communists have contributed our share to the strengthening of the ANC. Many of the giants of the national liberation movement like J. B. Marks, Moses Kotane, Govan Mbeki and others, both at leadership and rank and file level, have loyally served the ANC throughout their careers. In his speech on our 60th birthday, President Tambo said: "Our organisations have been able to agree on fundamental strategies and tactical positions, whilst retaining our separate identities . . . Our organisations are mutually reinforcing. It is often claimed by our detractors that the ANC's association with the SACP means that the ANC is being influenced by the SACP. That is not our experience. Our experience is that the two influence each other".

President Tambo went on to stress that the forces of the ANC and the SACP together "comprise a fighting alliance that represents the power of the South African revolution in the making", but he added significantly:

"The relationship between the ANC and the SACP is not an accident of history, nor is it a natural and inevitable development . . . Our alliance is a living organism that has grown out of struggle".

It is an alliance which has been worked for and consolidated by the efforts of thousands of members of both organisations over many decades. The price of this alliance, like freedom itself, is eternal vigilance, eternal struggle.

On this 70th anniversary of the ANC we Communists salute our gallant allies of the ANC and pay tribute to their glorious achievements. We express our confidence in the leadership and membership of the ANC, tried and tested in a multitude of battles, and pledge to make it one of our main objectives in the coming period to help strengthen the ANC, spread its message, broaden its base and swell the ranks of its fighting forces until all our people are free and the democratic South Africa outlined in the Freedom Charter has become a reality.

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## CRISIS IN THE CISKEI

The whole question of the "independence" of the Ciskei Bantustan reflects the determination of the South African regime to rid itself of legal liability to its African citizens, and the willingness of the so-called Ciskei "government" to co-operate in a process of national self-destruction against the will of the majority of the people. "Independence" is being foisted on the African people so that the whites can claim that they constitute the largest single national group and are therefore entitled to dominate in the 87 per cent of the territory of South Africa which they have proclaimed white.

In this issue of *The African Communist* we print an article by Themba Ngonyama exposing the ravages which have been caused by "independence" to the people of the Transkei. The Transkei became "independent" in 1976, followed by Bophuthatswana in 1977 and Venda in 1979, and the same process has taken place in each territory, which has been turned into an impoverished labour reserve for the "white" area. Now the whole farce is being repeated in the Ciskei.

With one exception: in the case of the Ciskei, the Botha and Sebe regimes made an attempt to persuade public opinion that independence was not being foisted on the people by Pretoria but flowed from the national wish for self-determination of the Ciskeian people. In 1978 the Sebe "government" appointed a commission to "enquire into and report and make recommendations to the government of Ciskei on the practical feasibility, considering all political, economic and social aspects, of independence for Ciskei". Chairman of the commission was Professor G. Quail, of the University of the Witwatersrand, and the other members

were Professor C. H. T. Lalendle of Fort Hare, Sir Arthur Snelling, former British Ambassador to South Africa, Professor E. Marais, rector of the University of Port Elizabeth, Dr M. van den Berg, head of the Handelsinstituut, Mr P. Kilby, US economist, and Professor Robert Rotberg, US academic.

The Quail Commission presented its report in February 1980. It found conditions in the territory appalling, with a high level of infant mortality and widespread malnutrition, overgrazing of the land (47% moderately or seriously eroded), a chronic shortage of housing, practically no industry and low productivity in agriculture. Only a tiny proportion of the population had access to the land and there was massive unemployment. Of 100,000 economically active people in the Ciskei, 25% were unemployed, but if all people between the ages of 15 and 65 were included, the unemployment rate was 39%. Conditions were particularly bad in the resettlement camps where the "surplus" Africans from the "white" areas were dumped with no land, jobs or even basic facilities. In one camp of 50,000 people there was not even a single doctor.

The "de jure" population of the Ciskei is over 2 million, including of course people "of Ciskeian origin" in "white" South Africa. The majority are dependent on migratory labour for an income. The commission condemned the migratory labour system, holding that it denied people the opportunity of seeking the best jobs available, crippled agricultural development, destroyed family life and led to alcoholism and violent crime. One significant finding of the commission was that South Africa as a whole had "the most unequal income distribution among the 66 countries of the world for which data was available". Living standards in the Bantustans are the lowest in South Africa.

The report was scathing on the "independence" granted to Transkei, Bophuthatswana and Venda, commenting that it amounted to denationalisation on ethnic lines. The survey it had conducted, said the commission, showed that 90 per cent of the people of the Ciskei did not want this sort of "independence", preferring universal adult suffrage in a single unitary state. The commission recommended that the Ciskei should not opt for "independence" unless certain conditions were met:

1. The majority of Ciskeians in the territory and in South Africa voted in favour of "independence" in a carefully supervised referendum;
2. Ciskeians should have the choice of South African or Ciskeian citizenship, and South Africa should not have the right to deport those who chose South African citizenship;
3. More land for the Ciskei;
4. The rights of Ciskeians to seek and retain employment in "white" South Africa should be preserved.
5. South Africa should provide equitable financial support.

In a debate on the commission's report in the Ciskei legislature (50 members, of whom 30 are nominated chiefs and only 20 are elected) in May 1980, Chief Minister Sebe said his administration would never accept "independence" if it meant surrendering South African citizenship. In September 1980 Sebe worked out a "package deal" with Minister of Co-operation and Development Koornhof which was submitted to a referendum on December 4, 1980. Sebe told his people that the "package

deal" incorporated all his demands, but Koornhof only went on record as saying that the South African government would not deport Ciskeians resident in "white" South Africa except after consultations between the two governments. South Africa never accepted the possibility of dual citizenship.

In other words, the "package deal" submitted to referendum was a fraud from the start, and Sebe knew it. Yet in October he told a mass meeting at Zwelitsha: "Anybody who says our independence will be the same as the independence of the others (Transkei, Bophuthatswana and Venda) is a clown, to put it in polite language". In November, 1980, he said in Port Elizabeth that under the "package deal" his people would be able to enjoy both Ciskeian and South African nationality. In December, after the referendum, he repeated that Ciskeians would have the choice of South African or Ciskeian nationality.

The referendum itself was a farce. Only registered Ciskei voters were allowed to take part in the referendum, but to register a reference book had to be produced - and since 1978 it has been compulsory for Ciskeians to take out Ciskeian citizenship, if they required reference books. This meant that those taking part in the referendum on whether the Ciskei should be independent were already Ciskeian citizens, while those who resisted "independence" were excluded from the vote. That is why, out of the 2 million-odd people of Ciskeian origin, there were only 503,190 inside Ciskei and 295,144 in other parts of South Africa. The ballot was not free. Those who voted had their reference books stamped 'R', which meant that those who had not voted were liable to victimisation after the referendum. There was also massive intimidation at the polls themselves. Even then, Sebe could only get 295,891 to vote for "independence" - less than 15% of the estimated total population.

In the House of Assembly on February 20, 1981, Premier P. W. Botha announced that the Ciskei would become "independent" on December 4, 1981. He and Chief Sebe had signed an "independence" agreement following three days of intensive talks in Cape Town. At a press conference afterwards Sebe claimed that the conditions laid down by the Ciskei "government" for "independence" had been met during the negotiations. He said again that under the agreement Ciskeians would retain South African nationality although they would remain Ciskeian citizens.

But no details of the agreement were published. And a few days later Sebe was beginning to change his tune. The following quotation is from a report in the *Evening Post* of February 26, 1981:

"Chief Lennox Sebe has accepted independence for the Ciskei in spite of a refusal by the South African Government to grant a common nationality to Ciskeians. This emerged in a statement by Chief Sebe yesterday that he had been unable to reach agreement on one of the key aspects of the independence package deal. It means that Ciskeians will have to accept separate nationality and citizenship and will lose their South African citizenship . . . In East London Chief Sebe said, however, that he was quite satisfied with the citizenship rights his people would enjoy after independence. South Africa and Ciskei had merely agreed to extend to the other country's citizens the benefits of citizenship when necessary".

When the Status of Ciskei Bill was finally introduced in the House of Assembly in September 1981, it became clear immediately that Sebe had sold his people down the river, and that the Bill would automatically deprive all Ciskeians, inside or outside the territory, of their South African citizenship. Koornhof said: "Of course Dr Sebe wanted citizenship, but there are certain things that are not attainable". He quoted from a letter he had received from Sebe saying: "We have done much heart-searching on the citizenship issue and have conceded it (the loss of citizenship) because we saw no relative alternative".

But there was an alternative, and that was to reject a farcical "independence" and insist that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white, and that no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of all the people — to quote the words of the Freedom Charter. Sebe has rejected that alternative because he dare not submit himself to the will of the people of the Ciskei, the overwhelming majority of whom are totally opposed to "independence". Sebe was not placed in office by the process of a free election, but was imposed on "his" people by Pretoria. He maintains himself in power by the exercise of a South African emergency law which has been in force for years and under which he has imprisoned without trial thousands of his opponents, including hundreds of trade unionists fighting not only to improve their wages but also to keep Ciskei as an integral part of South Africa.

Ciskeian independence means the opportunity for unbounded wealth and power for Sebe and the clique who rule the territory for the benefit of the Botha regime and the employers in South Africa interested only in an endless source of cheap labour. Ciskei is already South Africa's biggest dumping ground, dotted with resettlement camps housing hundreds of thousands of decaying and hopeless communities evicted from Nyanga and other urban areas. Thanks to Koornhof and "separate development", Ciskei's population has doubled in the past ten years and it is now one of the most densely populated areas in all Africa. But as the population rises, living standards fall. For the mass of the people there is no future. 25% of children already die before their first birthday, and the infant mortality rate is rising.

If Botha, Malan and their security chiefs want to know why acts of armed resistance are multiplying all over South Africa, they only have to look at Ciskei and the other Bantustans to find the answer. The people of South Africa simply will not accept the policy of genocide which is being implemented by the Botha regime and its black stooge allies.

The only alternative to apartheid is total rejection and total resistance — strikes, demonstrations, rent and bus boycotts, armed struggle — mass united action at every level and by every means against forced removals, influx control, all regime-instituted bodies like the South African Indian Council, the Bantustans etc. The mood of the people is high. Organisation and leadership must be raised to the level required to match it.



## INDIAN PEOPLE'S REPLY

### TO BOTHA

The shattering rebuff delivered by the Indian community to the Botha regime in last November's elections for the South African Indian Council reflected the complete rejection by the voteless black majority of the apartheid institutions foisted on them by the white racist minority. The determined and spirited boycott campaign conducted by the anti-SAIC Committee and the Natal Indian Congress met with an overwhelming response and the poll established once and for all the total lack of public support for the handful of collaborators willing to assist the regime in the implementation of its apartheid grand design.

The average turnout in the elections was 10.5%, ranging from less than 2 per cent in one Transvaal constituency to 20.5 per cent in Durban. In the Fordsburg constituency of Johannesburg only 17 out of the 3,800 voters on the roll went to the polls. Dr Essop Jassat, chairman of the Transvaal Anti-SAIC committee, hailed the result as a "magnificent show of unity by the Indian community and blacks everywhere".

In fact, the election result showed that despite decades of bludgeoning, bullying and bribing by the apartheid regime, the Indian community has lost nothing of its determination to fight for a South Africa free from racialism, segregation and injustice, a new South Africa based on the principles outlined in the Freedom Charter. The principles of struggle which inspired Mahatma Gandhi and his followers in the first decades of the century, which sustained the passive resisters in the Ghetto Act campaign of 1946 and the defiance campaign of 1952, which brought the Indian Congress into the Congress Alliance in the 1950s — these principles are still proudly inscribed on the banners held aloft by the Indian people.

The work and sacrifice of the many leaders and rank and file trailblazers in our history has not been forgotten. Their names and the policies for which they stood still enjoy the love and respect of the community, not as memorials to the past, but as beacons to the future and callsigns that the struggle must continue until final victory is achieved.

Dr Jassat was right to hail the victory as "a magnificent show of unity by the Indian community and blacks everywhere". A notable feature of the boycott campaign was the appearance on Anti-SAIC platforms of African leaders like Mrs Albertina Sisulu and Mrs Albert Lutuli and the Africans themselves have displayed the same rejection of apartheid in their refusal to take part in elections for the dummy community councils offered to them by the regime in Soweto and elsewhere. Likewise, the Coloured Labour Party acting in the name of the Coloured people effectively destroyed the Coloured Persons Representative Council after exposing its futility in practice. In the Bantustans the polls, where not rigged, are also effectively boycotted.

The Indian election fiasco has probably dealt a death blow to the ridiculous constitutional proposals advanced by the Botha regime in the

name of "power-sharing". The State President's Council of 60 members plus the State Vice-President was set up to advise the government on constitutional and other matters. It has a majority of white members, but includes a handful of Coloureds and Indians, though Africans are excluded because they are not supposed to be South African citizens. The first two recommendations of the Council were that a small portion of District 6 should be returned to the Coloureds and that Pageview should remain an Indian area, but both recommendations were summarily rejected by the Botha Cabinet. When even the executive committee of the stooge South African Indian Council was moved to object, Premier Botha replied in contemptuous terms reminding them that the State President's Council was only a "commission of inquiry" and "is not ruling the country", adding for good measure:

"In conclusion, I wish to point out to you that the Indian community in general is living under better conditions than most other Indian communities in the world and a more positive attitude on your behalf could improve their conditions".

Now the Indian community have given Botha the "positive" response he was asking for. The Indians are very positive that they do not want his Indian Council, or his State President's Council, or any other dummy body they may be offered. What the Indians, Africans and Coloureds who comprise the majority of the population of South Africa are demanding today is full and equal citizenship in the land of their birth — no more pass laws or Bantustans, no more discrimination or injustice, equal representation for all on the basis of one man one vote in a united South Africa. And a growing body of whites support them in these demands.

Moreover, the Indian Council election did not take place in a vacuum. The campaign of the Anti-SAIC committee was supported by all sections of the liberation movement, which took all necessary measures through its apparatus inside South Africa to promote the boycott. Nor should it be overlooked that a large element of the militancy expressed in the campaign was injected by the Indian working class who comprise the overwhelming majority of the Indian community. The growing unity of action between the various sections of the black working classes is one of the most positive achievements of the recent round of struggle in the industrial field.

The Indian Council boycott campaign has been one more sign of the fighting spirit which animates the oppressed people everywhere in South Africa today. The task before us now is to harness this spirit ever more effectively in the struggle for final liberation, to organise the people and enrol them in our freedom army, to advance more often and more massively on the offensive. The enemy is more divided and less confident than ever before, while our people are more united and more confident, more sure of the road ahead. Let those who have hesitated now cast aside their fears and join us in our grand crusade to bring freedom and democracy for all to our beloved country.

# ANC DECLARES YEAR OF UNITY IN ACTION

London SECHABA in English Jan 82 pp 1, 2

[Editorial]

[Text]

The ANC has declared 1982 a year of Unity in Action. On the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the ANC this is a fitting tribute to the founding fathers of the ANC. These men and women achieved a lot during their life time — and therefore left us with a legacy which we cherish. We should remember that the idea of the formation of the ANC was democratically adopted: it was put to a vote and passed unanimously, with loud cheers, all delegates standing. It was a popular decision. There was more to it. The formation of the ANC meant an establishment of African political opinion as an autonomous factor in its own right in South African politics.

Since then much has happened internationally and nationally. The working class within our country has become a dynamic component of the liberation struggle; the C.P. played and still plays an important role in our liberation struggle; the Indian and Coloured communities have identified with the African people; the Freedom Charter was adopted; Umkhonto we Sizwe, the military wing of the ANC is using a new type of weapon against the white minority rule; a growing number of white resisters — including war resisters — is gradually coming closer to the positions of the ANC and numerous organisations have emerged recently among the black oppressed masses.

It is these forces the ANC is appealing to for unity in action. We aware that there are many problems to overcome. Some of these organisations do not share our outlook but they adopt anti apartheid positions.

We should also remember that each people and indeed even each locality has its own historical experience — and this may influence in one way or another the form of unity in action. We should not forget that these various forces have not been subject to exactly the same exploitation.

Whilst we do not overlook these aspects, we do not emphasise them. Our task is to strengthen these forces, to broaden and deepen their outlook. What is foremost in our thinking is the cause we represent and in the pursuance of our goal the question of further deepening the cohesion of these forces is of vital significance. Unity in action means unity of all those forces that stand against Apartheid, racism and colonialism regardless of their class background. It also means a relentless struggle against racism, anti-communism and tribalism. It means grappling with the daily problems that face our people in factories, on the farms, in the Bantustans, at universities and in the battlefield. It means efficiency, quick reaction and response, humility and understanding. These are aspects of what we call discipline. But there is more to it — political awareness, understanding of our situation and its solution. We must study the Freedom Charter. As Oliver Tambo has said:

"In summary we can therefore say that an urgent and continuing task that faces the African National Congress is and has been the unification in action of all the black oppressed people, whatever their class origin, to fight for victory of the democratic revolution. The ANC and its

allies also have the task to build up the democratic movement among the white people and to strengthen the bonds of unity between the white people and the oppressed majority, in one common struggle for the liberation of this majority.

Organisationally the enemy seeks to destroy the ANC and its allies physically, to ensure that no force exists within the country that has the influence and capacity to mobilise and unite the South African democratic forces. In place of the genuinely popular organisations and leaders of our people, the enemy is trying to create and sponsor his own to replace those whom years of extreme and brutal reaction have failed to destroy.

In the struggle to build up the strength and raise the level of unity of the movement for national liberation, the African National Congress relies first and foremost on the fact that the cause we represent is just and meets the fundamental aspirations of the masses of our people. Consistently, therefore we have put forward the perspective of a democratic South Africa bringing to the fore the truth that is the patriotic duty of the entire people to rid our country of the tyrannical rule of the racist-fascist regime. This is a perspective and an orientation which must necessarily infuse and fire the will of all the national and class forces whom we have already described as having an objective interest in the victory of the national democratic revolution".

CSO: 4700/974

## BRIEFS

SPURT IN GERMAN INVESTMENT--After a slow start in the first six months of 1981, German investment in South Africa increased by DM 31,9-million to reach DM 710,5-million for the third quarter. German investments in South Africa, which have been monitored since 1952, moved slowly in the first half of last year from DM 677,9-million to DM 678,6-million. The investment growth has been steady over the past few years, growing by 4,7% in 1979 and 4,6% in 1980. The growth rate, however, is mainly due to a greater number of smaller and medium-sized German companies showing an interest in investing in South Africa. This is the opinion of the SA-German Chamber of Trade and Industry which explains the situation further: "As a result of the German economic situation, these companies are not only willing to provide technical know-how, but can also provide skilled labour, as the German artisans are only too willing to spend a few years working overseas." The downward trend in the South African economy does not affect German investors to the full extent as most envisaged investments are in the highly specialised field of technology for which there is still an "open market" in this country. [Text] [Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES-BUSINESS TIMES in English 7 Mar 82 p 44]

JEANS MADE IN ISRAEL--South African jeans and other sportswear are to be manufactured in Israel under a new licensing agreement to meet Huguenot export orders for both Israel and Germany. The 20-year-old Cape Town clothing company, through its Redwood Jeans division has achieved a breakthrough in concluding a licensing agreement for overseas manufacture, says managing director Gavin Kaplan. Anticipated turnover from the Israeli venture is likely to reach R2-million at wholesale prices in its first year. More than 110 000 jeans and other trousers will be produced. To Huguenot, the advantages of manufacturing its Redwood range through Israel's A.M. clothing company is the country's participation in the EEC economy, its close proximity to Europe and hence a much reduced air-freighting bill, since exporting from South Africa is much more costly. "We shall supply its Israeli licensee with styling, samples and sales promotional material from Cape Town, and in turn, will gain free access to styling feedback from Europe," says sales director Laurence Kaplan. [Text] [Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES-BUSINESS TIMES in English 7 Mar 82 p 3]



PLATINUM-REFINING--DEOCHEM, a Johannesburg-based specialist engineering firm has signed a technical know-how agreement with a West Berlin firm, Trocknungs Anlagen Besellschaft mbH (TAG), which could result in South African platinum-refining technology being used behind the Iron Curtain. Doechem specialises in the design and manufacture of industrial drying plant with particular application in the mineral, metal and mining industries. It recently developed a new spray-drying system for platinum ore which dispenses with several stages in the conventional refining chain. TAG markets to communist bloc countries as well as Europe and South America and the know-how interchange will permit both companies to use each other's patents in their respective countries. According to Deochem managing director Harry Traub, the West Germans have been impressed with the technical breakthroughs made by Deochem in the processing of minerals such as platinum, tungsten and manganese and reciprocated information will allow Deochem to enter a number of areas of activity new to the company. [Text] [Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES-BUSINESS TIMES in English 7 Mar 82 p 3]

SA AIR BASE--The South African Broadcasting Corporation has reported that South Africa is to build a R54 million Air Force base at Louis Trichardt not far from the border with Zimbabwe. The announcement was made by the SA Minister of Manpower, Mr Fanie Botha, while speaking at a development conference at Louis Tricardt. [Text] [Salisbury THE FINAICIAL GAZETTE in English 12 Mar 82 p 13]

CSO: 4700/972

# PM ASKED TO CLARIFY FUNCTIONS OF INDVUNA

Mbabane THE TIMES OF SWAZILAND in English 12 Mar 82 p 1

[Text]

The Prime Minister has been asked to make clear a policy pronouncement, defining the functions of the "Tinkundla" and the "Indvuna," General, Mr. Mndeni Shabalala.

Mr. S.S. Mogokong, MP asked in Parliament: "What are the real functions of the Indvuna Yetinkundla?" He once said his position was equal to that of a Cabinet Minister, but he is not here to answer questions on his department's vote."

The speaker, Mr. Jetro Mamba said: "We all know that he cannot come into the chambers of the House. He can come as a member of the public, but if he came into the chambers, we would declare him a stranger."

Mr. P.M. Ginindza, MP said: "My question is whether or not the Indvuna collects data from the various centres and compiles reports. Since he flies the national flag like Cabinet Ministers, does he hold meetings with the other ministers as would be expected?"

Dr. George Msibi MP said after four years of serious thought, the authorities ought to have made clear policy decisions on the Tinkunda, their functions and organisational structure. He said he

hoped the fact that the vote for the Tinkundla had been brought to be debated in Parliament, was a sign that policy decisions were on the way.

Mr. Msibi further asked if provision had been made in the budget for the newly introduced post of Deputy Indvuna General, and the regional administrative councils. He also wanted to know why the secretary of the Tinkundla is graded as an under secretary, if it was equal to a full fledged ministry.

Mr. E.P. Mamba, MP: "I'm grateful that this year we talk of tangible

facts about Tinkundla funding. What I fail to understand is who is responsible for the Tinkundla as a minister. When we speak of Tinkundla personnel who are we referring to?"

Mr. O.Z. Dlamini MP: "I am surprised that Tinkundla have not been fully established as a statutory body after four years of its inception."

Princess Petfwayini, MP: "When we were promised that Tinkhundla offices would be constructed in all centres, we had high hopes that rural people would get jobs in these centres. I wonder what happened to that promised project."

TINKHUNDLA ELECTION SYSTEM IN JEOPARDY

Mbabane THE TIMES OF SWAZILAND in English 9 Mar 82 p 1

[Text]

**SWAZILAND'S next general elections under the Tinkhundla system may not be held at all this year — unless the Order in Council of 1907 is scrapped now.**

The four-year term of the electoral college members expires in October and in terms of King's Order in Council Number 22 of 1978, elections for the new college must be held.

The Indvuna Yetinkhundla, Mr Mndeni Shabalala said in an interview with The Times that, after the elections of 1978, the order was for unknown reasons put out of action.

In its place, he said Order in Council of 1907, which is should have replaced was retained and is still in operation for reasons unknown to him. This move, he said, had hindered the smooth running of the Tinkhundla system for the past four years.

"Unless this Act (Order

in Council of 1907) is degazetted, the next general elections will not take place under the Tinkhundla system," warned Mr Shabalala.

He said he could not see how these elections could be held without this vital order functioning. This order among other things established regional administrators and regional councillors all of which are not yet in operation.

On the other hand Order in Council of 1907 established district administrations which are still in operation. These should have been replaced by regional administrators.

"As Indvuna Yetinkhundla, I appeal to the higher authority of the Kingdom of Swaziland that order in Council Number 22 be put into operation now so that we can start preparing for the next general elections," he said.

He expressed the hope that the higher authorities will consider his appeal as soon as possible. Although King's Order in Council Number 23, also of 1978, which established the Parliament of Swaziland, was in operation, he argued that it was not functioning properly, because it is

interwoven with Order in Council Number 22.

Mr Shabalala still maintains that if given a fair chance, the Tinkhundla system would provide a model which sooner or later the continent of Africa would consider adopting.

He also regretted that chiefs in the country have not been able to accomplish the major duties assigned to them at the start of the Tinkhundla system of government.

The duties, he said, included the establishment of offices in chiefs areas, the registration of all homesteads births and deaths and development projects.

Mr Shabalala also dismissed as unSwazi the tendency by certain chiefs who live their areas to seek employment in industries, neglecting their national duties of looking after the people's needs.

The function of chiefs, he said was like that of the King and the Indlovukazi who at all times must be available to attend to the people's problems and to assist them wherever possible.

He said the decline in respect among Swazis in the rural areas.

# BANK WORKERS UNION STANDS BY 'EXPATRIATES' CLAIM

## Refuse To Provide Evidence

Mbabane THE TIMES OF SWAZILAND in English 11 Mar 82 p 1

[Article by Mashumi Twala]

[Text]

THE Swaziland Bank Workers Union has refused to provide evidence to support allegations they made against expatriates.

This was revealed yesterday by the executive director of the Federation of Swaziland Employers, Mr. Peter Dodds.

Mr. Dodds was reacting to allegations by the union about the relationships between employers, workers and expatriates.

Among the allegations were suggestions that the expatriates had formed an organisation to ask government that Swazis should not be promoted to higher positions and other claims that expatriates were being given attractive salaries and working conditions in preference to local employees.

But Mr. Dodds said yesterday that the union had refused to support these allegations. "The secretary of the union, Mr. Joel Nhleko, said he could not give me specific facts to prove what they said in their statements," Mr. Dodds said.

He told The Times that he had approached Mr. Nhleko for detailed facts

because the federation could not defend themselves from a "vague statement."

But, he said, Mr. Nhleko informed him that members of his committee had agreed that they were "not in a position to give evidence."

Said Mr. Dodds: "We had expected that if employers were conducting themselves in the fashion referred to in the statement, the union would be able to substantiate the allegations to us."

He said it was, therefore, surprising that the union had decided not to make clear their allegations. Mr. Dodds referred to continuous appeals which had been made by government, in particular the Office of the Deputy Prime Minister for workers and employers to solve their differences around a negotiating table.

"It is surprising that the union took this step because on Tuesday the Deputy Prime Minister, Senator Nsibandze, once again publicly stressed the need for co-operation

## Won't Withdraw 'Anything'

Mbabane THE TIMES OF SWAZILAND in English 12 Mar 82 p 1

[Article by Mashumi Twala]

[Text]

THE Bank Workers Union is not prepared to change or withdraw anything that was said in a statement issued on behalf of Swaziland workers.

The secretary of the Union, Mr. Joel Nhleko, replying to remarks made by a spokesman of the Employers, said until a positive step has been taken by Federation to disprove the allegations in the statement, the Union would not attempt to produce evidence or change their allegations.

Mr. Nhleko was reacting to a statement by the executive director of the Federation, Mr. Peter Dodds' that the Union was refusing to support their allegations.

Mr. Nhleko said: "Our statement was not directed at the Federation of Employers nor a particular organisation. We were talking about expatriates."

"Does he (Mr. Dodds) mean that all organisations in this country are affiliates or members of the federation. If that is the case, would we not then be

justified to say that the Federation itself is questionable as most of its members are also expatriates.

"How are the union members and every worker in this country to judge the credibility of the Federation if they are also expatriates, unless the Federation made tentative steps to set the minds of the local workers at ease.

According to Mr. Nhleko, the contents of the statement by the Union were not things out of normal or extraordinary. "Everybody knows about these things," he said.

He added that what the Union set out to do was to endorse the government's policy over such issues and to echo the people's feelings. He declared: "We are not going to pinpoint any industry. We think that the Federation's stand on localisation is also questionable, unless they come up with actions to prove the contrary, because as it is, they are just paying lip service."

Mr. Nhleko regretted

that the matter had had to be discussed through the press and stated: "It is not our policy to exchange views and feelings over the media."

Mr. Nhleko attacked pay gulfs between expatriates and locals saying that expatriates get better treatment than locals.

"You can take a survey wherever you wish and you will see this yourself," he said.

Asked whether his organisation would not be seen as not complying with the Deputy Prime Minister's appeals to discuss differences over a negotiating table with employers, Mr. Nhleko replied: "We want to co-operate. There is definitely no doubt that there has to be a dialogue between us. We are indeed committed to the policy of tripartism, but we are simply pointing out existing facts," he said.

He said the Federation and employers should put their houses in order before the Union could be expected to make alterations to their feelings.

CSO: 4700/979



## JUDGES PROBE RITUAL MURDERS

Mbabane THE TIMES OF SWAZILAND in English 11 Mar 82 p 1

[Text]

**SWAZILAND'S judges are preparing a report on the high number of acquittals of ritual murder suspects in the High Court.**

The report will be presented to the Prime Minister on Thursday next week, Prince Mabandla told parliament.

Prince Mabandla said he has mounted a campaign to find out how so many people get acquitted. "I have approached members of the judiciary to ask if they are working for the interest of the country or working in pursuit of their own fortunes," he said.

"They have assured me that on March 18, they will submit a report".

He also stated that there were many loopholes in the laws which made it easy for ritual murder accused to get away with it.

Prince Mabandla said it was unfortunate that ritual murder suspects were granted bail while awaiting trial.

"This gives them the opportunity to tamper with witnesses. Some witnesses die or disappear mysteriously," the Prime Minister said. "We don't know how the witnesses die, but this hampers the investigations."

"It is common knowledge that potential witnesses are victimised by accused persons. Some witnesses decide to go into hiding," he added.

Dr. Sishayi Nxumalo asked if ritual murder cases take such a long time before coming to Court because there are some important people involved.

Prince Mabandla said, according to law, the only people who were immune from prosecution were the Ngwenyama and the Ndlovukati, and no one else.

"The ritual murderers are so cunning that they sit down and plan in advance what they will do to protect themselves," he said. He stated further that most investigations were hampered by the fact that in many cases, the bodies were discovered in an advanced state of decomposition.

"This proves difficult for the doctor to ascertain the cause of death. It cannot be said whether it was a ritual killing or a drunken death," he said. "As a result, police have to rely on other evidence."

"I must say that the issue of ritual murder is disturbing, particularly in view of the fact that the public is not prepared to assist the police," he said.

He said it was unfortunate that the law does not make it possible for the witchdoctors who conduct the rituals (kucapha) to be prosecuted.

"They are as far from the case, as the East and West," he said.

Answering an MP who wanted the PM to give some statistics on ritual murder cases, Prince Mabandla said there were 34 reported muti killings between 1978 and 1981.

Of this number, he said, 12 culprits were arrested and the other 22 suspected culprits disappeared.

The House was debating the Prime Minister's Vote for the police. The house yesterday approved E7,181,000 recurrent, and E1,634,000 (capital) to be allocated to the police.

PM TO LOOK INTO POLICEMAN'S REINSTATEMENT

Mbabane THE TIMES OF SWAZILAND in English 11 Mar 82 p 1

[Article by James Dlamini]

[Text]

THE Prime Minister, Prince Mabandla, has promised to investigate the circumstances surrounding the reinstatement of a top policeman who was acquitted of ritual murder.

Prince Mabandla was answering a question in Parliament by Mr. S.M. Dlamini who queried the remini who queried the remini who queried the remini in the force.

"This is a thorny issue indeed," Prince Mabandla said. According to police force orders or regulations, he added, an officer who is prosecuted or suspected of involvement in a capital offence may not be reinstated — even if the officer was acquitted.

"But unfortunately, in this particular case, the powers that were supposed to handle this case did not follow the procedure," Prince Mabandla said.

He did not say who the powers were.

He stated that the Commissioner of Police, Mr. Titus Msibi tried to follow the procedure, but somebody in authority

intervened. He didn't name him.

An MP rose on a point of order. He said the Prime Minister should never say that there are things going on in the government which he does not know.

The Speaker, Mr. Jetro Mamba, said as chairman, he was satisfied with the Prime Minister's replies. "I do not respect this point of order," he said.

Another MP rose to tell the Speaker that if he understood the Prime Minister's replies to be satisfactory then he should explain them to the House.

A third MP rose to say that there was some classified information which could not be revealed, and that he understood this to be the case.

The Prime Minister stood up and said: "I know that the MPs are sore about this issue. It is indeed sore — an investigation is to be ordered."

"A lot is involved here. The situation is interwoven."

REPATRIATION CHARGE IS NOT TRUE, SAYS DPM

Mbabane THE TIMES OF SWAZILAND in English 12 Mar 82 p 1

[Article by James Dlamini]

[Text]

**SWAZILAND will not succumb to pressure from any of its neighbouring states to repatriate refugees, the Deputy Prime Minister said yesterday.**

Senator Ben Nsibandze was reacting to a question by Dr. George Msibi, MP, who said there was an incident when Swaziland conducted a large scale repatriation of refugees.

"Those who left belonged to a certain organisation he said. "This was an internal arrangement in that particular organisation in which certain refugees were being recalled by their leaders and not repatriated," he stated.

Dr. Msibi said it was widely rumoured that the government had succumbed to pressure from an un-named neighbouring state to repatriate a number of refugees. "Will the minister give an assurance that such a large-scale repatriation will not be

repeated. If it is done then proper screening by an independent body should be conducted," Dr. Msibi said.

Dr. Msibi further asked if Swaziland would consider asking the ANC to find an alternative country of asylum in the case of this organisation indulging in military activities against a neighbouring country. "I ask this because this would be detrimental to the security of the country," he said. "We should avoid friction," he added.

Sen. Nsibandze reiterated the country's policy of "good neighbourliness."

"We never harbour people who conduct military attacks against any neighbouring state," he said. He stated that all refugees are required to abide by their asylum conditions. "You read from now and then that some armed bands have been arrested. This shows that we are protecting our policy," he said.

Mr. Ben Bennet said some people escape from their country to seek political asylum in Swaziland because they don't want to speak Afrikaans. "What puzzles me is the fact that the very

same people in small groups in town unashamedly speak afrikaans," Mr. Bennet said.

Senator Nsibandze explained that there were different categories of refugees in the country. He explained that there were 5,000 Matsenjwa and Mngomezulu refugees in the South; then there are

refugees who come under the pretext of seeking political asylum when the real reason is starvation. "I won't mention countries by name," he said.

"Some come in transit for some kind of training elsewhere," he said. He stated that Swaziland was a signatory to international conventions covering refugees. He further stated that there is an asylum committee, which includes the security branch and a representative of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. The committee screens refugees with a view to determine their legitimacy. Some are given a short period to leave.

"With regard to some, we ask the UNHCR to find them an alternative country of asylum," he said.

OPEN LETTER TO KANGWANE'S CHIEF PUBLISHED

Mbabane THE TIMES OF SWAZILAND in English 5 Mar 82 p 7

[From the Letters to the Editor]

[Text]

*THIS is a copy of a letter I have written to Mr. Enos Mabuza, Chief Executive Officer of KaNgwane, and I am sending you this copy in the hope that your readers will be interested.*

*The letter does not cover the points, if new, raised by Mr. Mabuza as appeared in The Times of February 26, 1982.*

After some time of dilly-dallying and indecision you have finally come out as clearly opposed — even ready to die — to the overtures of a united Swazi nation by a process of readjusting the Swazi-South African boundaries.

Sir, you might not know me very well, but last March I came into your office with a friend at Louis Creek and you spoke very kindly to us. This note of appreciation should be extended to the other councillors I met such as Chief J.M. Dlamini and I. Masilela.

It is out of this rather very brief encounter and partly out of sheer drive of patriotism — hopefully, the same patriotic flush which has prompted you to "declare war" against all those in favour of the Swazi unification in South Africa — that I write you this rather longish open letter, in the hope that even now it is not too late to turn round and accept the otherwise inevitable Swazi destiny.

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*OWING to the lengthy nature of this letter, it has been cut. The second part will be published in Tuesday's issue of the Times.*

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As you may well realise Mr. Chief Councillor, you stand at the crossroads of Swazi history: It is not within you to stop the rising wave of Swazi nationalism; you may delay it, but stop it you will never.

I cannot understand this position you have now openly taken and advocated with so much unpatriotic fervour. I cannot even understand how you can proudly call yourself King Mswati's follower and yet fail to pay due allegiance to his rightful heir in the person of our most venerable King Sobhuza II.

Chief Honourable Councillor (and those who support you) if you are not challenging the only legitimate pretender to the Swazi throne, what else are you doing in declaring that South African citizenship is for you a "birthright" you cannot give up for any other citizenship? In the stand you have taken against unification you have devalued the only thing of value to you and

which thing you should be fighting to uphold at all costs — your Swazi ethnic ties by reason of Mswati's conquests.

Mr. Mabuza, Sir, is it not time you tell us when, where and how the break took place which justifies your refusing allegiance and loyalty to Sobhuza II? You must also tell us who then is the rightful heir to the Swazi throne if not Sobhuza II, direct and lawful descendant of King Mswati who gave you a place in space and history by forging for you a national identity which you are now posed to throw off.

In this regard I can only refer you to Chief Gusha's speech at Mona Stadium during the celebration of King Zwelithini's 10th year reign in which he referred to Zulu national identity and the need to protect and develop it.

I understand that you have asked but has been refused self-governing status for Ka-Ngwane tribal authority similar to that of Kwa Zulu. Yet what is the real meaning of such a

political status? I understand that it gives the Chief Minister (yourself in this case) considerable political power and influence including the power to appoint and dismiss chiefs.

The territorial entity conferred with such a status attains political rights and powers virtually analogous to those of an independent homeland. Indeed such a status is only an arm's stretch away from "independence." I wonder if it has ever occurred to you that the various stages of political "development" of the South African ethnic peoples, including the stage of self-government, were meant for ethnic groups wishing to develop towards "independence."

Fortunately or unfortunately, however, this clearly underlying presumption of ultimate

independence for all the peoples accepting self-governing status was never spelled out and no doubt this now causes a lot of embarrassment when considerable power and influence are conferred to an ethnic group whose leadership is opposed to homeland independence. In your case then, Sir, since you are understood, consistent with the Black Alliance Association policies, to be opposed to independence, why do you think the South African government should confer you with this self-governing status?

Is it not clearly self-defeating as far as

Pretoria's policy on ethnic peoples is concerned. South Africa being a unitary state is the claim for self-government for peoples claiming South African citizenship not a derogation from the supreme sovereign powers of the Republic?

Yet is it not clear that your request for Ka-Ngwane self-government is an indication that the South African citizenship you have vowed to die for is seriously compromised?

And I fail to understand why you reject the citizenship that will not be in any way compromised, of a country in which there will be no need for self-government for yourself and your followers.

Privately I have always wondered what good reasons you had for claiming South African citizenship. I sometimes wonder if all the Swazis in South Africa who now claim, with you, South African citizenship have any idea of their true history and identity, and I must say that your apparent success in converting Chief Mkolishi was a major albeit temporary victory on your part.

Why Mabuza?

May I kindly have your reasons, Mr Mabuza, for claiming South African citizenship "as a right" and as "birthright," and the time when you acquired the same other than by reasons of the vagaries of colonial rule and imperial commands, which unification of all the Swazi now seeks to reverse and put history straight.

I ask you the above question, Mr Mabuza, because I understand that you are one of the descendants of the subjects of King Mswati and, if you are not such a descendant, please bear with my ignorance and I will bother you no more about these matters, for it is the descendants of King Mswati's subjects that I have in mind. Some of these are now members of the Inyatsi or Inyan-dzaya Mswati and operate among the Swazi in the eastern Transvaal and the area of Ka-Ngwane of which you are Chief Executive Councillor and indeed, I was told that you are a member of one of these politically oriented groups identifying themselves with that great and heroic King Mswati, father of the Swazi people.

If, however, Mr Mabuza, you are one of Mswati's subject-descendants, were you ever sold by anybody, Mswati or any of his successors, to the South African Republic or its predecessor. When and where did this sale take place? Mr Chief Councillor, let this be clear to you: no such agreement to sell King Mswati's subjects to the Republic was ever entered into nor even ever pretended to have been entered into. Maybe, Mr Mabuza, you were told that the Swaziland part of King Mswati's vast domain, now part of South African land, was sold to the Republic. This may or may not be true, and like the gentleman that I am, I will give you the benefit of the doubt,



though for a short while. If such land was sold to South Africa, who told you or by what legal principle, municipal or international, do you conclude that the Swazi subjects then occupying the land were also sold together with the land?

In our civilised legal system I know of no principle of law or other which treats human beings as permanent fixtures on the immovable property they occupy from which they cannot be separated on the transfer of the ownership of same. Even if there was any purported sale of the said land, every Swazi should know (and he does not have to be a lawyer) that such a sale was null and void as inconsistent with and repugnant to Swazi traditional legal thinking and principles of customary constitutional law, in that land, according to us, is not a saleable commodity nor has the King any land he can lawfully alienate by sale since he merely holds the land in trust for the Swazi nation. We, the Swazi nation, are therefore the beneficiaries for which such trust is created and if any King alienated Swaziland to our disadvantage we have the right to question such a sale and petition that it be set aside on legal and equitable principles.

How then did you, Sir, and all those claiming with you, who remained on land which, at the time when the boundaries were demarcated are for reasons best left untold, fell to be treated as part of South African land, attain such "foreign" citizenship as you would now die for rather than lose? Was the Swazi-South Africa boundary a sufficient cause for you to transfer your allegiance to Swazi King's to the South nationality and nationalism so feeble, cheap and meaningless you can "throw it up" just like that, or are you trading off your true nationality for the "fatty pots" of South Africa--just for the material wealth?

I find it absolutely repulsive that you, Chief Councillor of a Swazi people and those Swazi thinking like yourself on the unification issue, should take such a totally un-Swazi stand, notwithstanding that your blood kins are ready to accept you as full fellow citizens to share with them the little they have and suffer with you the trials and tribulations of true independence.

Are you, Mr Honourable Councillor, to give credit to the conclusion of certain foreign observers that amongst the Ngumi peoples the Swazi are the least nationalistic? The Zulu to the south are busy reconstructing through the Inkatha Movement, their lost empire by solidifying Zulu nationalism, and remember, nationalism is often exclusive and you, Sir, through your Inyandza yaMswati are bent to destroy Swazi nationalism and divide the Swazi nation thereby making enemies of blood brothers.

Are you then being patriotic? Why should any Swazi patriot support you when you question the clear sanity of Swazi unity and actually collaborate with Swazi enemies who rejoice that the Swazi unity and that the Swazi are ever a divided force?

Chief Honourable Councillor, your membership of the Black Alliance Association must be seen as a classic comical tragedy. Are you that blind you cannot see that one of the members of the association so much hates the Swazi he even sees hallucinatory Swazi plots to assassinate him?

Majahenkaba Dlamini  
Enkaba Royal Kraal  
Mbabane

[9 Mar 82 pp 4, 5]

Do these allegations of assassination plots to you sound like proposals of love to or good neighbourliness with the Swazi? And you Mr. Mabuza are ready to appease this member by selling off into perpetual semi-slavery over 750,000 Swazi people and you consider this to be patriotic. That must be a clearly distorted sense of patriotism, if ever it was, and because you call yourself a King Swazi's descendant I cannot but feel greatly diminished by all this.

Mr. Mabuza, Sir, Even a cursory review of the South African Bantu history will show that the Swazi have never formally been in the same situation for instance, as the Zulu or the Xhosa, or even Basotho, was concerned. Think for a minute, Sir, if the Zulu claim South African citizenship they may well do so by clear, albeit now outmoded, principles of the law of War and Peace which justified the annexation of conquered foreign lands and peoples. The Swazi have never been the subject of such a law — at least not in the formal sense, and this is very important. Hence no Swazi can properly claim South African citizenship by reason of any lawful annexation. At the very least, you Sir, and your followers, may claim British nationality — a not so baseless choice.

In the South Africa of the 1970s we have seen the conferring of independence status to the Transkei, first amongst others and recently to Ciskei. Both these people though grouped as nation-states in separate territorial areas are Xhosa-speaking and among the reasons for criticising the Pretoria government for

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*THIS is the concluding part of an open letter to KaNgwane's chief councillor Mr. Enos Mabuza by Mr. Majahenkaba Dlamini. The first part of the letter was published in Friday's issue of the Times.*

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fostering this situation is the lunacy of having two but separate Xhosa states (even if we accept the possibility that South Africa will eventually be governed as a federal state and or that the proposed constellation of states idea shall succeed).

This artificial division of the Xhosa, it is said raises questions about the good faith of the South African Government concerning the homelands' independence, since common sense dictates that people of the same ethnic affinities or identity should be grouped in one nation-state.

Again there has been a similar outcry against the creation of the state of Bophuthatswana, inter alia, by reason of its territorial plurality which is said to clearly demonstrate as sham the notion of homeland independence. Yet the Pretoria regime has insisted all that it has done has been in absolute good faith and there can be no undoing of these matters, as, indeed, freedom once conferred may not be withdrawn.

Now, Mr. Mabuza, if we agree as we indeed must, that your claim of self-governing status as your ultimate political desire is short-sighted and untenable in the long-run (since you will not always lead the KaNgwane Swazi) would you prefer that there be two hostile Swazi camps closely adjacent to each other but ruled from different thrones, considering the geo-economic politics of Swaziland? Would this not only court the same criticism against South

Africa as in the Xhosa and Tswana cases and at the same time create a South African Ulster, or Eretria or Western Sahara? Mr. Mabuza, it is as well that you be told that Swaziland will never give up the claim of total sovereignty over all Swazi people whatever may be the political changes in South Africa.

In the long run when the spirit of Swazi nationalism will no longer be controllable, South Africa will have to destroy Swaziland as a sovereign state and have it formally incorporated into itself or else the struggle for an all-Swazi State will go on gaining momentum as it becomes more militant and bloody; as you Honourable Chief Councillor you will be the object of national ridicule and spite for trying to frustrate the forces of Swazi unity.

Chief Councillor, you have been reported as saying that the unification of the Swazi will take place over your dead body, yet I think with due respect, that you are a moral coward for refusing the trying challenges of true independence and instead seeking to live the good and princely life as a parasite on South Africa. Sir, you are also reported to have charged that Swaziland is poor as indicated in the salaries paid, level of unemployment and by His Majesty's government's failure to accommodate many of the Kingdom's school-going pupils and the overall national per capita income of the Swazi Kingdom is lower than that

of South Africa.

Others have alleged that Swaziland is a peaceful, democratic and prosperous country and you have rightly, but for wrong reasons, scoffed at these allegations and I would not like to support them either. You have been reported as questioning how His Majesty's Government can successfully feed the 750,000 or so South African born Swazi and that the reasons for unification have not been clearly catalogued to show the advantages for such an option.

All the above questions Mr. Mabuza are adequately answered by characterising them as totally irrelevant to the issue at hand. I personally cannot see any real good reason for your rejecting unification other than the financial perquisites which you as Chief Councillor reap from South Africa. For, yes, Mr. Mabuza, a young independent and developing Third World country has a lot of problems to face, and life for the people is not so easy.

Everything of material benefit must be earned through the bitter sweat of one's brow, and unless the country is particularly well endowed (which is very rare) in certain commodities where an ordinary worker earns at the close of the day is ever less than the labour he expends, and less still his buying power at the local shops. These things cannot be denied or even falsified as they are, for the developing country, the wear and tear of independence and cannot be wished away. Can it then be argued by any serious and self-respecting patriot that such difficulties are adequate reasons to prefer the life of a parasite and convenient dependence to hard and often inconvenient independence?

I do not consider the economics-based argument against unification as worth a true patriot's salt. If Swaziland is presently not a democratic state, this must be accepted by all nationals as their challenge to bring about the type of democratic state they would like and nothing is achieved

by changing allegiance and true nationality — a very dastardly act indeed.

I consequently boldly charge that even if Swaziland were indeed the poorest country in all Africa that would be no relevant argument to advance the treasonable cause of Swazi disunity. Swazi unity is founded on and supported by far more deeprooted although invisible bonds of sovereign national identity far transcending any other political or economic considerations.

### Economics

Indeed the economics-based argument can only cloud the real reason for unity and thereby deceive the simple-minded. In any event the issue of economic viability of dependent peoples once advanced by some former colonial powers has been internationally discredited and rejected as a mere stratagem for refusing the peoples' self-determination towards independence. Hence if the economics of independence was even a relevant and decisive point for consideration many a political entity would never have passed for statehood.

The Swazi cause for unification, however, is not even based on the issue of mere similarity of cultures — it is based on one culture, as far as the uniformity of a people's culture may go. That being the case does it really matter that Swaziland is poor or undemocratic? Why, Sir, would you trade off your children into slavery because you are unable to adequately provide for them?

I strongly believe, and this belief is shared by many a compatriot, that the South African-born Swazi are my brothers and if the worst were to happen I am ready to suffer with them, not as a sacrifice but as an incident of one nationality, for to Swazi nationality these (S.A. born) Swazi have an inalienable claim which cannot be shaken off or dampened by the passage of time. A brother resting on one's shoulders cannot be too heavy a burden for

anyone fired by a sense of history, political brotherhood and nationalism.

Yet even this analogy of carrying one's brother (s) does not arise for serious consideration and decision just now because it does not bear upon what is being negotiated for with the South African government. Thus the questions of what Swaziland will do with the "flood" of 750,000 South African-born Swazi is equally misleading, in as much as the negotiations are that these people should be united with Swaziland together with the land they occupy or such land as may be mutually agreed upon. Our extent of preparedness to receive the South African born Swazi, however, merely presupposes that even should South Africa refuse, for any reason, to cede one square metre of land, this would not alter the claim to Swazi nationality of these South African-born Swazi and it would not be for anybody or authority to stop them from resettling in Swaziland so long as there is an independent Swazi state.

Having pointed out that this issue of unity cannot be properly decided on the preponderance of economic and other material advantages, I take the opportunity of putting the record straight as far as the thrust of the Swaziland — South Africa negotiations on this matter is directed, notwithstanding the unfortunate language which has been used by some South African elements including yourself Mr. Mabuza.

The negotiations for Swazi unification are not for "incorporating ka-Ngwane," your political power base, into Swaziland. The talks are aimed at reunification by readjusting the present boundary between the two parties. Even if, as it may well be, the effect of this adjustment is to render your Ka-Ngwane part of Swaziland this does not amount to "incorporation" in the same sense as South Africa might incorporate Lesotho or Swaziland if that agreement was reached.

Thus reference to "incorporating ka-Ngwane" is deliberately misleading in the extreme and comes very close to a lie, the clear aim of which is to make Swaziland appear to be out to flout O.A.U. resolutions.

### Distorted

But this distorted argument will not succeed because Swaziland is not in any way acting contrary to her international obligations: on the contrary Swaziland is acting quite consistently with her national and international obligations. Considering that this issue predates both the O.A.U. charter and the 1969 Lusaka Declaration Swaziland could not have ratified any of these treaties without adequate reservations.

Mr. Mabuza, even if your Ka-Ngwane were to attain "independence" tomorrow, Swaziland would be internationally bound not to recognise you as President or Chief Minister. Thus, it must be clear, you have no locus standi in the matter of the Swaziland — South Africa negotiations as far as Swaziland is concerned, and this lack of status is even graphically demonstrated by the lack of the international existence of a potential state of Ka-Ngwane, at least in the light of the present international political atmosphere.

Swaziland therefore cannot be understood to be seeking to "incorporate" a non-existing political entity, even if in fact such entity represents all that Swaziland is negotiating for. The fact that on occasions you may have been consulted and your views solicited should not be mistaken by yourself or any other person with your recognition in political terms. Your position vis-à-vis the South African government of whose political ideology you are a brainchild, is of course acceptably different.

I am not herein going to delve into the reasons for creating a Ka-Ngwane or whether in the first place it should have been created at all according to orthodox

S.A. nationalist political thinking. Suffice it to say — and I hope it will not further upset you as has done the refusal of self-governing status — that Ka-Ngwane was improvised to facilitate the talks for Swazi unity and any other different reason would be merely coincidental.

You see Sir, from the South African point of view it was necessary to have the Swazi grouped over an area so that negotiations may proceed on the basis of a more or less definite area beyond which the border adjustments could be made. So Ka-Ngwane is nothing more than just a convenient device, a convenient means to an end, for clearly King Mswati's territorial domains can no longer realistically be asserted. Let the public be not misled, Swaziland is not seeking to "incorporate Ka-Ngwane."

The likes of Patrick Lawrence have made untenable comparisons of the Swazi case with the Sotho (Qua-Qua and Lesotho) and Tswana (Bophuthatswana and Botswana) situations. I am not going deep into this because if Mr. Lawrence has read the history of Southern Africa he should know that the Swazi case is certainly not comparable to these other cases. But Mr. Lawrence has also suggested that the South African Government favours "incorporation" because of ulterior reasons connected with the idea of the constellation of southern African states. It is at this point I would like to consider although necessarily superficially, because the impression created in the Press is that

Swaziland should have absolutely nothing to do with such an idea.

## Constellation

The phrase "constellation of states" may be newish in Southern African political dictionaries but its practical aspects are certainly not a so new phenomenon as far as the older southern African independent states are concerned. Time and again Swaziland has internationally made it known that she took economic imperatives rather seriously and for her a prestigious place among the "front line" states is unimportant if it is to be gained by losing sight of the relevant economic factors. It has not been necessary for Swaziland to go on and specify that those relevant economic imperatives are immediately satisfiable within Southern African as against anywhere else. This is perfectly in order.

Swaziland is also equally clearly aware that the change of the colour of the government in Pretoria would not significantly alter her own economic position for the better. If anything such a change of regime in South Africa would almost certainly increase Swazi dependence on South Africa since even the present artificial barriers would be removed at the international global level and consequently the Swazi peripheral economy would tend to be drawn even closer towards the South African economic centres. It is therefore clear that but for the politico-economic ideology of the Government in Pretoria, under normal

circumstances it would be more logical for a country with the geo-economic position of Swaziland to tend to gravitate towards a neighbour like South Africa.

I can, therefore, see nothing intrinsically wrong with the constellation of states idea per se providing member states have the freedom to quit if and when they so wish. Like any other multilateral effort the idea of constellation of states may have to be amended if disadvantageous to some intending members. All things being equal and Swaziland left to her own, I can see no reason why she should reject the idea out of hand on purely economic terms. I can think of nothing that President Botha or Minister Kooomhof can say about the advantages of constellation that will determine the extent of Swaziland's involvement in any South African economic co-operative effort other than the realities of power economics and a sympathetic political ideology in South Africa (and Mozambique).

It is thus the South African subcontinent that Swaziland must first look to for the satisfaction of her national economic needs, and I have no doubt that a more congenial political atmosphere would facilitate this gravitational economic pull. There is little doubt however, that even if the political atmosphere in South Africa changed for the better Swaziland would have very little to do with a political or economic international understanding which denied her the right of sovereignty over all her

people. The constellation of states idea should not therefore be used to scare off Swaziland from her realistic talks with the South African government to bring about a more closer co-operation on matters of mutual interest, and good neighbourliness.

Voila! I have endeavoured to cover every reported aspect of your anti-reunification arguments. Before you start deporting from Ka-Ngwane all those in favour of unification as I understand you have succeeded in dismissing Lukhele, Nhlabatsi, Ngomane and others from your Council — thanks that the power to appoint and dismiss chiefs has not been granted — I humbly call upon you Mr. Mabuza to waste no time in changing your views on the instant issue and quickly arranging the taking up of your proper place in a united Swaziland and contributing to the building

of a self-reliant Swazi nation instead of hiding behind the false political facades of your requested self-governing status which leaves you as Chief Executive Minister politically irresponsible. I make this call fully believing in a single and inevitable Swazi destiny of one people, one King and that the enemies of the Swazi unity may only postpone and delay this destiny but will not permanently frustrate it.

Siyinqaba! Long live the King!

Your humble compatriot  
Majabenhkhaba Dlamini,  
Enkhaba Royal Kral  
Box 356,  
Mbabane.



## SWAZILAND

### BRIEFS

DOCTOR PROBLEM--Mbabane--Poor pay and working conditions were responsible for doctors leaving Swaziland's Civil Service, the Acting Minister of Health, Canon Siphetswe Dlamini, said yesterday. He told Parliament that only 12 doctors were at present employed in the Mbabane Government Hospital instead of the required 35. In addition, there was not one anaesthetist in the Civil Service and Swaziland would continue to send patients to South Africa because of the lack of specialists.--Sapa [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 20 Mar 82 p 10]

'TIMES' FINED--The Thunderer of Swaziland--The Times has been fined E5 by Parliament for contempt. The Times was fined in terms of Standing Order No. 218. The maximum fine in terms of this order is E400. The order deals with complaints against newspapers. The publication fine is for two articles, one on March 4 and the other on March 8, which were found to be a "breach of the credibility of Parliament." [Text] [Mbabane THE TIMES OF SWAZILAND in English 12 Mar 82 p 1]

MOZAMBICANS FINED--Seventeen Mozambican men have been fined for entering and staying in Swaziland without the necessary documents. Ten of the Mozambicans appeared in Siteki Magistrates Court before Magistrate Josiah Matsebula. The men pleaded guilty to the charge. They were each fined E20 or 20 days' imprisonment. The Mozambicans were arrested in Simunye and Vuvulane looking for jobs. Seven of the Mozambicans appeared in Mbabane Magistrates Court before Magistrate Mdabula Khumalo. They all pleaded guilty and were each fined E20 or 20 days' imprisonment. [Text] [Mbabane THE TIMES OF SWAZILAND in English 11 Mar 82 p 1]

CSO: 4700/979



## NYERERE MAKES FOUR-DAY WORKING VISIT TO PEMBA

## Nyerere on Peasants' Productivity

Dar es Salaam DAILY NEWS in English 4 Mar 82 p 1

[Article by Isaac Mruma]

[Text]

PRESIDENT Nyerere yesterday called for measures to raise the productivity of peasants so that they could effectively contribute towards producing more crops for economic survival.

Speaking to residents of Vitongoji Village in Wete District on the third day of his four-day working visit to Pemba, Mwalimu directed that peasants should be provided with modern farm implements and that their health needs should be attended to.

The land on which the peasants banked upon for further production should be improved so that it yielded more, Mwalimu advised.

He said the peasants had to produce more food and cash crops not only to overcome the present economic difficulties, but also to ensure that their basic requirements and social services including education for children were maintained now and in future.

The President said this in response to a message read out at Vitongoji saying only 11,000 out of the 47,000 residents were engaged in productive work.

Mwalimu said the 11,000 able-bodied people had to work harder to be able to meet their own requirements and that of the remaining 36,000 of which 31,000 are children.

He said the peasants, who had to shoulder the responsibility of producing for the 1982 National Economic Survival Programme (NESP) targets must be assisted to raise productivity. Mwalimu urged that all Tanzanians must effectively contribute to the success of NESP.

Turning to Pemba Island residents, Mwalimu hailed them for keeping a few but healthy cows and goats, Peter Masebu of *shihata* reports.

He said during his tour he had noted that the people of Pemba kept well-fed cattle unlike those on the Mainland who kept thousands of badly cared for animals.

However, Mwalimu cautioned that livestock keeping must not be done at the expense of education for the children.

He said parents who would force their children to stop school, in order to look after cattle, would carry on their shoulders the blame of the coming generation.

Addressing two separate meetings at Wingwi and Mchanga Mdogo villages in Micheweni and Wete districts respectively, Mwalimu said Tanzania had to increase her production of food because of a short fall due to bad weather.

At Wingwi he said while he was certain the peasants would double their production efforts, he urged the government to ensure that the necessary farms inputs such as fertilizers, seeds and hoes were supplied to the peasants in time.

It was useless to urge peasants to raise productivity when they had no tools, Mwalimu said.

The President said if the rains were good this season, there should be enough harvest for both food requirement and for export. This year the country had to import 293,000 tons of maize, which may not suffice if the rains fail.

"You must not behave like colonial people who were afraid of educating the youths for fear that they would ask for rights", he said.

He added that CCM should avoid such thinking because it is dangerous to the development of the country.

## Nyerere on Tanzania-Zanzibar Union

Dar es Salaam DAILY NEWS in English 5 Mar 82 p 1

[Article by Isaac Mruma]

[Text]

PRESIDENT Nyerere yesterday described as misguided fools people who thought Tanzania Mainland's union with Zanzibar would collapse.

Addressing thousands of people from Pemba North and Pemba South regions at Tibirinzi grounds in Chake Chake, Mwalimu said the Union is there to stay because it was the creation of the people of the two countries.

He pointed out that the Union was being concretised over the years and those who thought it would collapse were wasting their time.

He was commenting on the regions' message read during a rally at the grounds, which said enemies of Tanzania's policy had distributed leaflets and letters vilifying the Zanzibar leadership and the Union.

The message, read by Pemba South CCM Executive Secretary Ramadhani Rashid Mohamed, said leaflets distributed when Zanzibar was preparing her new Constitution and just when she was to go to the polls to elect a President wanted the people to reject the Constitution and the elected President, Ndugu Aboud Jumbe.

The enemies of the Union had also sent a letter calling for Ndugu Jumbe's resignation and

asking the people of the isles to pull out of the Union because "they were not free and were mistreated contrary to human rights", the message said.

"These people have also designed their flag which is different from the Union one", the message further said.

It, however, explained that the signatories of the letter were neither Isles or Mainland peasants or workers but individuals who resided out of Tanzania.

"We take this opportunity to tell the world at large that the signatories of the letter have no right whatsoever to speak for the people of Tanzania. They cannot even dare to come into this country", it said.

The message said Tanzania Mainland's Union with the isles was there to stay.

In his speech, Mwalimu asked Tanzania to ignore those who prayed for the collapse of the Union, saying they were like hyenas who could follow a walking man thinking his swinging arm would drop off for them to eat.

He said the enemies would not succeed because more than half of the Tanzanians were born during the 18 years of the Union's existence.

"Who is denying them their heritage?", he asked.

Explaining why Tanzania should be united, Mwalimu said, for example, that while he was a Mzanaki, his children were not Wazanaki but Tanzanians. Tanzanians are one, he added.

"I am saying all this to silence fools", he said.

Mwalimu reiterated his call on CCM members to expose leaders who were involved in racketeering because this was incompatible with the country's ideals.

"Leadership is not a ladder to wealth", he said.

Mwalimu, who ended a four-day visit to Pemba yesterday afternoon, laid the foundation stone to an electricity generating station at Wesha and a clove oil factory being built at Wawi near Chake Chake.

The power station has a capacity for 4,500 kilowatts. The three generators for the project have already arrived in Pemba and installation would start in May this year.

The clove oil factory is being built by a French firm — Tecotex. It is expected to earn the Isles Government 21 million/ in foreign exchange a year when it starts production.

The President, who went to Pemba on Monday flew back to Dar es Salaam yesterday afternoon.

## PARLIAMENTARY FINANCE GROUP VISITS TABORA COTTON MILLS

Dar es Salaam DAILY NEWS in English 4 Mar 82 p 3

[Text]

THE Tabora Cotton Spinning Mills, whose construction has been delayed for two years because of lack of building materials, will now cost 298million/- instead of the originally estimated cost of 286.7million/-.

The Mills' Project Manager, Ndugu H.D. Masoli, told the visiting Parliamentary Finance and Economic Committee yesterday that the rise was brought about by increased prices of building materials.

He told the Parliamentarians that lack of fuel and wagons for transporting materials from Dar es Salaam and power shortage in Tabora also contributed to the delay, according to *Shihata*.

The Parliamentary team, now touring Tabora, was however told that the National Textile Corporation (TEXCO) — the holding parastatal — was in the meantime, trying its level best to mobilise funds for the project, now expected to be completed by the end of the year.

According to Ndugu Masoli, power failure in Tabora affected about 25 per cent of the construction while

fuel shortage in the area also had its share.

When it goes into full production, the mills would require about 3,000 kilowatts of power.

A 10,500 kilowatts electricity generator is now being installed in Tabora at a cost of 40million/-. An expert from Britain is expected in the town any time to supervise the installation.

The Parliamentarians, led by the MP for Tanga, Ndugu Balozi Juma Maggid, were told that about 80 per cent of the machinery for the Mills, with a capacity for spinning 6,000 tonnes of thread per day, had so far been installed.

On the training of personnel, Ndugu Masoli said 22 youths have been sent for training on machine operating in Japan and India but out of the number, 15 have joined other factories because of the delay in completing the Mills.

Efforts were being made to train more machine operators, he said. The Mills would require a labour force of 1,300 when it goes into full production.

The Parliamentary team is expected to leave Tabora for Shinyanga today.

## TAZAMA TRADE UNIONS SIGN THREE YEAR WAGE AGREEMENT

Dar es Salaam DAILY NEWS in English 4 Mar 82 p 3

[Text]

MINIMUM wage for operational and supporting staff of the Tazama Pipelines Limited has been raised to 970/- a month effective April 1, this year.

According to a three-year agreement signed between the firm's management and Zambian and Tanzanian trade unions recently, the highest pay for workers of the jointly owned pipeline will be 3,500/- a month. The increases do not cover management staff.

The agreement was arrived at between the Union of Transport and Allied Workers of Zambia and the Union of Tanzania Workers (JUWATA) at Ndola, Zambia.

JUWATA's Assistant Secretary-General responsible for Commerce, Transport and Building Affairs, Ndugu Yohanes Almasi, was yesterday quoted by *Shihata* as saying that the changes would only affect those workers classified under "grades one to six."

There has also been an upward revision of salary annual increments and retirement benefits under the progressive three-year agreement just signed. It is, however, subject to ratification by the Zambian Industrial Court which is expected to sit before the end of May.

He said under the agreement, all employees of Tazama Pipelines Ltd receiving salaries below the minimum entry point in each grade will first be raised to the minimum wage scale before getting the first of the three annual increments.

In addition, all those whose salaries had passed their respective grades, will be accorded the increment which is statutory. Increments on merit will only be afforded by the employers, he said.

Details of the monthly salary increases are as follows: Grade One workers move from 891/- to 970/- (*Kwacha* 89 to 97) with an annual increment of 160/- (*K* 16), subsequently setting their minimum wage at 1,130/- (*K* 113). This grade includes workmen, gardeners, messengers, cooks and security guards.

Grade Two workers will earn 1,360/- (*K* 136) with an annual increment of 180/- (*K* 18). This category includes radio operators, lower typists, drivers, telex operators and assistant draftsmen.

Grade Three workers will get a monthly salary of 1,730/- (*K* 173) with an annual increment of 250/- (*K* 25). The group covers those workers with trade test qualifications.

Grade Four salaries will be 2,380/- (K 238) with an annual increment of 320/- (K 32). Those involved in this are workers in positions of senior stores assistants, company nurses and senior accounts assistants.

Grade Five salaries will be 3,230/- (K 323) with an annual increment of 350/- (K 35). The workers in this grade include state registered nurses, medical assistants, insurance clerks, senior accounts assistants and technicians.

The sixth and final grade will cover workers earning 3,500/- (K 350) with an annual increment of 380/- (K 38).

The unions and the management agreed that a person who has worked for 60 to 120 months would at the time of retirement be entitled to a lumpsum pay equal to 12 months salary and that a worker who served for a period of 121 months to 180

months at retirement would be entitled to a lumpsum pay of retirement benefit equal to 18 months' pay.

Workers who serve the Tazama for a period of 181 months to 240 months would get a retirement benefit payment equal to 20 months pay. Those who serve for 241 months and above would earn an equivalence of 24 months' salary.

The voluntary retirement age for men is 45 years or a minimum of 20 years service while women's retirement age has been set at 40 years and after working for 15 years compulsory retirement would depend on the laws of the respective nation she comes from.

On redundancy, the unions and the management have agreed that the employer should give a month's advance notice before processing other benefits which will also include annual leave.

CSO: 4700/970



## TTC FREEZES HOTEL RATES

Dar es Salaam DAILY NEWS in English 4 Mar 82 p 1

[Text]

THE Tanzania Tourist Corporation (TTC) has frozen its hotel and lodge tariffs until March, 1984 to allow implementation of a two-year rehabilitation programme financed by the World Bank.

TTC General Manager Esrom Maryogo said here today that most of the programme, especially repair and re-equipment of the hotels, improvement of approach roads and aerodromes and provision of sports facilities would be completed in one year.

He told a press conference of travel editors from Western European and American newspapers at a one-week international travel trade fair here that the freezing of tariffs was a "partial compensation for inadequate service here and there in the course of the

programme."

His Corporation, he added, would launch a sustained preventive maintenance programme for all hotels and lodges.

The 104 million/- rehabilitation programme involves overhauling of air conditioning systems, electrical installations, sanitary appliances and provision of diesel generators, radio communication equipment and vehicles.

The marketing component of the programme covering printing of brochures and related literature advertising tourist facilities in the country has been completed.

TTC is taking part at the international travel fair — ITB-Berlin — which opened here on February 27. Ndugu Maryogo is accompanied by TTC Marketing Director, Amant Macha.

CSO: 4700/970

## TANZANIA

### BRIEFS

RICE IRRIGATION PROJECT ABANDONED--Dar-es-Salaam, March 4--A multi-million-shilling rice irrigation project in Tanzania which would have been funded by West Germany, has been abandoned after German experts found it would be a waste of money to implement it. The rice project at Mkomazi near Korogwe in Tanga region, north of Dar-es-Salaam was first conceived and appraised by the U.N. Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) in 1950. The feasibility study was financed through a West German grant of 16 million shillings (two million U.S. dollars).--A.F.P. [Text] [Paris AFRICA AFP in English 5 Mar 82 p 17]

CSO: 4700/973

## MORE JOBLESS RUSH TO CITIES

Salisbury THE HERALD in English 16 Mar 82 p 4

[Text]

**THE sudden recent influx of job seekers from rural areas into cities is boosting unemployment figures which were improving after November's ban on overtime.**

In an interview the acting director of the Department of Employment Services in the Ministry of Labour and Social Services, Mr. Langston Machoko, said unemployment, which had always been severe, had decreased tremendously after the overtime ban.

"But now we are faced with another problem, of people coming from the rural areas in large numbers to seek work in the urban areas. This is causing headaches for us."

The sudden influx has been caused mainly by drought in some parts of the country, particularly Matabeleland.

"Had it not been for this influx the employment situation in this country would have greatly improved in terms of job placement."

One cause of the influx was that people in employment sent word to their people in the communal areas that it was no longer difficult to get jobs in the cities and people came in large numbers seeking jobs.

To cope with the problem, Mr Machoko said, he was working on a plan to sort up the Department of Employment Services.

"I want to have the placement section, which will play the traditional role of placing job seekers into available vacancies, while the other section will only assess how job opportunities can be maximised in both communal and urban centres," he said.

He was carrying out feasibility studies on how the department could help urban self-employed people.

At a later stage the same should be done for such people in the communal areas, encouraging them to form co-operatives so as to make it easier for the Government to assist them.

It was necessary to improve the facilities at some

employment centres because of the congestion.

"I was a job-seeker myself and I want to see the facilities improved for these people seeking work. For instance, there should be good shelters for them — so that they know their Government has their interest at heart."

Mr Machoko added: "Last year we had a problem of domestic workers who did not want to work for black employers whom they said overworked and underpaid them. Since the minister's visit to the Government-run Sinoia Street bureau where he appealed to job seekers to accept jobs offered by black employers — the situation has greatly improved in this regard."

"I can assure you that they are now accepting jobs offered by blacks after the minister's explanation that they were protected by law."

ANOTHER TOP ZAPU MAN DEFECTS

Salisbury THE HERALD in English 16 Mar 82 p 1

[Text]

A ZAPU central committee member, the Rev. Reuben Marinda, has resigned to join ZANU (PF).

Mr Marinda, who was in detention for many years and contested the 1980 general election as ZAPU-PF candidate for Gutu, was appointed member of the central committee in 1979.

Mr Marinda said he made his decision to resign after a careful analysis of the country's political situation.

More than 100 ZAPU supporters in his area also wanted to join ZANU (PF) but were afraid to do so.

"I was deeply disturbed by the discovery of the arms caches on various party properties," he said.

Mr Marinda said he wanted to dissociate himself from a party that sought to divide people on unnecessary partisan lines when genuine national independence had been

won and a popularly elected government chosen.

A party that "seeks to create an insecurity situation in our country through some of the ZAPU elements putting away arms caches, may have had motives purely sinister and rebellious", he added.

He said it had since become evident that the necessity for the multi-party system was divisive and counter-revolutionary. — Ziana.

● Twenty-five ZAPU members have joined ZANU (PF), the political commissar of the ZANU (PF)'s Chimoro branch in Mufakose, Mr Davison Mushoriwa, said yesterday.

The former ZAPU members joined at a meeting on Sunday attended by 2350 Mufakose residents.

The defectors brought with them former party T-shirts and handed them to ZANU (PF) officials.— Herald Reporter.

JAPAN HOPES TO BUILD ON TRADE LINKS

Salisbury THE HERALD in English 15 Mar 82 p 3

[Text]

**BULAWAYO.**  
THE Japanese Ambassador to Zimbabwe, Mr Seiken Sasaki, said on his first visit to Bulawayo that he is looking forward to an expansion of trade and travel between the two countries.

"I am always talking about the promotion of our economic relations; I have much to do to increase our good relationship," he said on Friday.

"I want Zimbabweans to be acquainted with Japanese culture and our Japanese people to know an increasing amount about Zimbabwe," he said.

Co-operation at government level had already started, he said. Japan had given Zimbabwe "grant aid" in the form of about \$7 million worth of earth-moving equipment for road construction and for Zimbabwe's resettlement projects.

In a comment on Japan's excellence in the manufacture of mechanical, engineering, electronic and precision equipment, Mr Sasaki said this was because his country was so poor in natural resources. It had developed prowess in the industrial manufacturing fields in order to be able to enter world trade.

The ambassador also visited the Zimbabwe Electronics Corporation which in June last year formed a merger with the giant Japanese consortium of Sanyo and Matsushita. "I would like to see more such mergers in Zimbabwe's private sector," Mr Sasaki said.

Later, he paid a courtesy visit to the Mayor of Bulawayo, Councillor Nelson Ndirovu.

On Thursday night, the ambassador gave a reception in a Bulawayo hotel for about 100 guests.

CSO: 4700/971

VISIT OF FRENCH FACT-FINDING MISSION REPORTED

Salisbury THE HERALD in English 15 Mar 82 p 7

[Text]

**A FRENCH fact-finding mission of eight administrators slipped quietly into Zimbabwe last week to examine development efforts since independence.**

An official of the French Co-operation and Development Ministry and leader of the delegation, Mr Renaud Vignal, said at the end of the visit that France was doubling its development aid to poor countries for the eight-year period from 1981.

His delegation had held talks with officials of 10 Government ministries to discuss priority areas for future co-operation between the two countries, he said.

Areas of co-operation still had to be defined by the Zimbabwe Government and "we feel very much that this country is an example for Southern Africa".

The delegation had been informed of training, rural development and agriculture as priorities for Zimbabwe.

Asked whether the new French administration was singling out Zimbabwe because of the benefits involved, Mr Vignal said there had also been considerable contact with Mozambique as part of the co-ordination efforts under the Southern Afri-

can Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC).

On the question of apartheid and Namibian independence, he said France had decided in consultation with its African friends to stay in the Western contact group and to exert pressure to speed up the process toward Namibian independence.

"At the same time we have pledged to increase the level of independence among SADCC countries," he said.

"And if we are asked to help relieve Zimbabwe's transport problems we could gain easier access to the ports. Mozambique and Zimbabwe might ask France to join in their efforts to solve the transport situation."

He said France wanted to increase its economic, political and security solidarity with the whole of Africa in the fight against apartheid and for Namibian independence by increasing its aid and commitments to the continent and the developing world.



# ZIDS ROLE IN TRANSFORMING ECONOMY DESCRIBED

Salisbury THE HERALD in English 11 Mar 82 p 4

[Text]

**THE newly established Zimbabwe Institute of Development Studies (ZIDS) will strive to transform the economy into a socialist one.**

In an interview yesterday the deputy secretary in the Ministry of Manpower Planning and Development, Dr Ibbo Mandaza, said the institute "will help the Government to restructure the socio-economic system in its transition from a colonial, political economy to a socialist political economy".

The Government needed an institution which would unite all the ministries to serve not only the short-term goals of the Government, but also the long-term ambitions of the people.

The institute would be divided into two main groups — the research and training divisions.

The research division would have seven departments which would deal separately with agriculture and rural development; mining industry and labour studies; history and political studies; Southern African studies; education,

culture and social studies; science and technology and business and finance.

"The departments will research the nature of the Zimbabwean society from these various perspectives and their discoveries will be used as a basis for policy formulation."

He said the findings of the researchers would also help develop the training curriculum.

The training division would organise short and long-term courses in development studies and rural projects, planning and evaluation techniques of manpower planning.

Dr Mandaza said a nine-month diploma course in development studies and a three-month certificate course in manpower planning would soon be introduced.

"This institute will be truly national and in its board of governors will be nine Cabinet ministers and the Principal of the University of Zimbabwe,

Professor Walter Kamba."

ZIDS would be holding a four-day inaugural seminar on March 29, to be opened by the Prime Minister, Mr Mugabe.

Dr Mandaza said the seminar would look into the role of developing institutions in developing countries and the relationship of such institutions with Government policy.

"The theme of the seminar will be: The role of training and development research institutes in developing countries.

"From the variety of people who will attend the seminar, the board of governors will get a basis by which they can discuss the structure and function of ZIDS."

The motto of the institute is Liberation, Socialism and Development, and when in full operation it will have 72 permanent members of staff.

Dr Mandaza said only civil servants would be admitted at the institute.

# FIVE MINISTRIES TO MOVE INTO NEW OFFICES NEXT MONTH

Salisbury THE HERALD in English 12 Mar 82 p 4

[Text]

**FIVE** Government ministries are to begin moving into new offices on the Drill Hall site in Salisbury next month.

The offices, being built of prefabricated materials for speed and cheapness, are expected to be completed in May and will house up to 1 000 civil servants.

The architect in charge of the project, Mr Andrew Ndhlovu, said yesterday that when work is finished, the four buildings — on the former parade ground on the corner of Rhodes Avenue, between Moffat Street and Salisbury Street — will provide 560 offices.

He said the project was prompted by the acute shortage of government offices due to the rapid expansion of the government and civil service, and also because at present ministries had

departments scattered all over the city, making co-ordination and efficient administration difficult. Work began last September.

The ministries due to begin moving in next month are Community Development and Women's Affairs; Natural Resources and Tourism; Water Resources and Development; Youth, Sport and Recreation, and Lands, Resettlement and Rural Development.

A spokesman for the Ministry of Works said yesterday that the cost was estimated at \$1.35 million, with a further \$110 000 for service charges.

The buildings are designed for a temporary life of up to 20 years, and can be pulled down and the material re-used if needed. — ZIS-Herald Reporter.

CSO: 4700/971

# BIG STATE BOOST FOR SMALL MINERS REPORTED

Salisbury THE HERALD in English 13 Mar 82 p 3

[Text]

**THE Minister of Mines, Mr Maurice Nyagumbo, yesterday promised Government financial assistance to small-scale miners whom he described as "the cornerstone of our economy".**

The minister, addressing a closing session of a seminar organised by the Small Miners Co-operative of Belingwe, said that the Government was aware of the problems faced by small-scale miners who, unlike the big mining companies, had no adequate technical and financial back-up services.

He outlined the problems faced by the small-scale miners as follows:

- The lack of knowledge on the mining law and mining technique to exploit mineral deposits;
- the lack of adequate funds to support the mine at its early stages;
- The lack of even simple tools such as picks and shovels which are important to undertake a viable mining venture;
- And the lack of transportation and marketing facilities.

"Let me assure you that the Government is determined to assist you wherever possible in keeping with the policy of maximising the benefits which have been derived from our varied mineral resources," he said.

The minister said that

since the mining industry was the cornerstone of the country's economy, the Government would assist in identifying and solving problems faced by small-scale miners.

Mr Nyagumbo said his Government would assist the small-scale miners in:

- Administrative assistance . . . available from the ministry's district offices and said it would advise on all procedural and legal requirements;
- Technical assistance is provided by the professional department of the ministry;
- Financial assistance is available to registered claim holders only, in forms of ordinary loans and speculative loans.

He also promised a pool of equipment to the small miner for hire with option to buy.

The minister commended the Australian High Commissioner to Zimbabwe for sponsoring the seminar and said that would cement the existing relationship between the two countries.

## ESTABLISHMENT OF WORKER-EMPLOYER CO-OPS URGED

Salisbury THE HERALD in English 15 Mar 82 p 3

[Text]

**ZIMBABWE'S** commerce and industry could play a greater and more effective role in national reconciliation and reconstruction if more attention was re-directed towards satisfying and supplying facilities for a better quality of life to employees rather than to financial gain and greater profit, said Mr Gordon Handover on Friday night.

The chairman of Dunlop Zimbabwe Ltd and chief of the Zimbabwe International Trade Fair said that the present orientation in commerce and industry, of greater profits, should be changed.

He said each factor to production should be given its rightful place and value and the view that employees were only entitled to just wages should be destroyed.

"They must be given something greater than just a decent salary. They need more respect and

other spurs to more efficiency."

The first thing that industry could do to promote a greater understanding between employers and employees was the satisfying and supplying of facilities that gave a greater quality of life to their employees at work.

Such things could be in the way of private surgeries in the industry and better facilities in the way of canteens, sporting facilities and other social facilities.

He said his own company led, until recently, not only in giving the highest wages but also in the overall provision of social facilities at work.

Small establishments could regard this as absurd and beyond their financial capability but Mr Handover said the best way to overcome this handicap was in forming both employers' as well as employer-employee co-operatives and pool together some finance then provide these facilities.

Though it seemed a little awkward everyone stood to gain and appreciate the value of the service in the end, he said.

"I mean genuine co-operatives that have a purpose to contribute to the improvement of facilities. This can be achieved

and in the end all will be happy."

Speaking after Mr Handover was Mr Ishmael Nedziwe, acting secretary-general of the Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU) who said that in this year of transformation ZCTU was geared at changing the attitude of the general population as regards trade unionism.

He said all along trade unions were regarded as sources of trouble and defiance of employers' orders.

He called for more worker - participation in the private sector and said that it was distressing that workers' ideas were never carried to boardroom level and incorporated in top-level management decisions.

"If the workers' ideas are carried to this high level and the workers are more involved they will gradually come to understand and appreciate other factors of the establishment like low profit returns," he said.

A greater understanding of the company would bring more harmony between the employer and employee and ensure a better relationship and understanding and appreciation of each other's view.

SECESSION PLOT NO JOKE, SAYS CIO MAN

Salisbury THE HERALD in English 13 Mar 82 pp 1, 3

[Text]

BULAWAYO.

A CIO officer yesterday told the High Court here that after a meeting he attended at Dr Frank Bertrand's house, he was left in no doubt that Dr Bertrand wanted the "state of Matabeleland" to be established by violent means.

The officer was giving State evidence in the case against Dr Frank Bertrand (58), his son Mr Stephen Francis Bertrand (24), Mr Victor Samuel Radmore (53) and Mr Allen Richard Cauvin (21).

All have denied conspiring to commit acts of terrorism or sabotage and a second charge of possessing arms of war, offensive weapons and offensive materials.

The judge, Mr Justice Gubbay, ordered that the name of the CIO man should not be published.

The officer said he went to Dr Bertrand's house in Burnside, on November 12, last year, after being briefed by members of the police CID.

He was part of a group of six, the others being undercover members of the CID or police informers.

All those not previously known to Dr Bertrand introduced themselves as officers of the Zimbabwe National Army.

The CIO officer, who was in charge of the evening's undercover operation, was introduced as Lieutenant Ndiweni.

"My main task at this first meeting was to find out whether information passed to CID had been correct."

Other people present at the meeting were Dr Bertrand's wife, Victor Radmore — one of the accused — and a Mr John Griffin, an employee of the National Railways of Zimbabwe.

"Dr Bertrand produced two maps and then went on to point out vital bridges on these maps — among them were Birch-enough Bridge, the Que Que Bridge and the Victoria Falls Bridge," the CIO man said.

"I remember Dr Bertrand saying that Birch-enough Bridge was vital to the state of Matabeleland and he asked us to spare it if we could.

The witness said later that he took his part of what Dr Bertrand said to mean that they must blow up certain bridges.

"After that Dr Bertrand asked us whether we were ready for the following day, which was Friday the 13th of November.

"He asked us how many men we had at our dis-

posai and I gave him the rough number of about 1000 men."

Dr Bertrand then asked if they could start in Bulawayo itself and was told they could. Certain points in the city were selected — Brady Barracks, Llewellyn Barracks and Stops Camp Armoury.

The undercover CIO officer asked Dr Bertrand what assistance they had and where they would withdraw to should anything go wrong with the plan. He was told that should they have to withdraw, they would withdraw to the Matopos.

"As far as assistance was concerned he said Stephen (his son, one of the accused) had a contingent of white South Africans down south.

"I mentioned to Dr Bertrand that I would rather see Stephen before we went ahead with the plan."

It was eventually agreed that Stephen Bertrand should be contacted and asked to come back within a week. The plan would be postponed until his return.

Earlier in the day's proceedings, the matter of a "battle plan" allegedly found in the luggage of Mr Stephen Bertrand and Mr Cauvin was raised in

court by Mr Chris Jordaan, who appears for Mr Radmore and Mr Cauvin.

He put his questions to Detective Inspector Morgan Sibanda, the officer in charge of the Law and Order Section of Bulawayo CID and one of the State witnesses in the case.

"What Mr Cauvin will say is to the effect that over lunch during a general discussion it came up that the Prime Minister had mentioned the possibility of a coup being launched. Dr Bertrand was wondering what would be required to launch a coup in this country," Mr Jordaan said.

"Stephen Bertrand and Cauvin said they would

look into it as they had been in the army here.

"In the afternoon when they were at a loose end and when they had been drinking — and drinking too much — they jotted down a number of items."

Mr Jordaan said they soon got tired of this exercise, which was only a joke in any event. He said the "half-baked" nature of the plan and the way it was written indicated that the authors had been drunk.

The witness disagreed.

"I have discussed this exhibit with a senior officer of the Territorial Army and he says it is absolutely wrong to call it a logistic plan," Mr Jordaan said.

He said it was far too complimentary to it to call it "half-baked".

Detective Inspector Sibanda said the document was a logistic plan in his opinion and it was "self-explanatory".

Mr Jordaan: "I put it to you that not only is this plan incomplete and does not amount to a plan, it is a dream absolutely incapable of being put into action without a vast well-equipped conventionally trained army."

Detective Inspector Sibanda: "I completely disagree; these combatants have combined experience because they are now being trained in conventional warfare in the National Army."

Mr Justice Gubbay is sitting with assessors Mr C. A. Redfern and Mr I. Senda. Mr Ian Donovan, for the State, is appearing with Mr Eshmael Chatikobo of the Attorney-General's Office.

The case resumes at 10 am on Monday.



# CENSUS NEEDED TO PLAN DEVELOPMENT

Salisbury THE HERALD in English 16 Mar 82 p 5

[Text]

**PLANNED** development is the only way of improving the quality of life in Zimbabwe, the Deputy Minister of Finance, Economic Planning and Development, Mr Moton Mallanga, said yesterday.

He was speaking to 18 provincial census supervisors at a seminar in Salisbury who heard that their role during Zimbabwe's first census in 12 years would be crucial.

## ASPIRATIONS

"Planned development is the key to the task of meeting the aspirations of the people for an improved quality of life," he said.

"Information is central to planning. Without it planning is guesswork. And information is what the census is about."

Mr Mallanga said the first census in an independent Zimbabwe was a milestone and an opportunity for the nation to demonstrate unity.

"It is a national exercise which cuts across differences of tribe, politics and religion. The success of the census will demonstrate to all of us and to the world at large that our people think of themselves first and foremost as Zimbabweans, co-operating for the national good."

## SUPERVISORS

The supervisors, who have all worked previously on the manpower survey, will spearhead a force which will eventually be 20 000 strong.

"You are embarking on a project of national importance. In an election people come to the polling stations, in the manpower survey the inquiry was taken to establishments, but in the census we must get an enumerator to every household in the land.

"The census is not merely a demonstration of national loyalties, important though that is.

"We have no accurate measure of the natural growth rate. We have been unable to measure the magnitude and nature of internal migration.

"We don't know the rate of urbanisation, the scale of human displacement during the fight for independence, the requirements of a national housing programme.

"We have no idea of the rate of unemployment. We do not even know the size and composition of the labour force," said Mr Mallanga.

At the end of the week the supervisors will return to the provinces to which they have been assigned and begin their main task which will initially be to ensure that people understand the necessity for a census.

CSO: 4700/971

## SHONA SEEKS RECOGNITION AS ACCEPTED LANGUAGE

Salisbury THE HERALD in English 15 Mar 82 pp 6, 8

[Article by Giles Kuimba: "Struggling To Be an Accepted Language"]

[Text]

IN terms of recognition, even within Zimbabwe itself, it could be said that Shona as a language is only 20 years old.

Due to the determination of a few individuals, the Examinations Syndicate Boards recognised it as an examinable language as recently as 1962. But for those few individuals, Shona would still be "dead" to this day.

Besides small prescribed booklets such as *Kare*, *Nhasi*, *Mangwana* by Peter Patsanza, *Rugwaro Rwa-vaduku*, *Pepukai*, *Kambalrai* and others used at neighbourhood level to encourage children to read their local dialects, there was no Shona literature and no grammar books, let alone a dictionary.

Zimbabwean students who aspired for higher education had to go to South African institutions where, for a second language, they studied Zulu, Xhosa or Sotho.

That irked some, if not all of them. But, as in all problems, this lingual cloud hanging over our students in South Africa had its own silver lining.

If anything, it gave some the inspiration to return and put things right at home — to produce books in their own language.

They began trickling back home in the early 1950s, among them Solomon Mutsvairo, Bernard Chidzero (now Minister of Finance, Economic Planning and Development), Peter Mahlangu (now Deputy Secretary for Education and Culture), and Ndabaningi Sithole.

Mutsvairo's *Feso* and Chidzero's *Nzvenga* Mutsvairo were the first Shona novels prescribed for use in secondary schools. Peter Mahlangu's *Umthwakhazi* and Ndabaningi Sithole's *Umvukela* were the first school textbooks in Ndebele.

These books heralded the turning point in the creation of Shona and Ndebele literature and also on the road towards the establishment of Shona as a language.

It had not been easy. In those days a serious hitch existed in the publication of books in the local languages. Publishers were uncertain about the market and the demand.

But determined, the authors had approached the government of the day, proved the need, and asked for publication of their works. It was their persistence which prompted the creation of what came to be known as the Southern Rhodesia African Literature Bureau, now the Literature Bureau, a branch of the Ministry of Education and Culture.

This development put the then Department of Native Education, which was under the Ministry of Native Affairs, in a quandary. There was no established standard orthography for Shona writing to meet the needs of the various dialects and to necessitate a common market.

The first thing to be done therefore was to institute language committees for both Shona and Ndebele to establish standard orthographies acceptable to all dialectical groups.

Even then, the Examinations Syndicate Boards would not accept Shona as a language because of its lack of literature, and other requirements like language study books, ie grammar books, and dictionaries were non-existent.

The first need, a booklet giving a lead on orthography, was produced by a Mr D. P. Abrahams as a guide to standard Shona spelling.

Following this, the then Department of Native Education commissioned

Father Hannan S. J., to produce a Shona dictionary.

Working with a team composed of people speaking the major dialects, Zezuru, Karanga and Manyika, Father Hannan produced the first Shona dictionary in 1959.

When the Literature Bureau was established, the question had arisen as to who was to write the much needed books and novels in the local languages. It was decided the books must come from the people themselves.

Literary competitions were launched in both Shona and Ndebele, stimulating a lot of interest among the people, and much fertile ground for the required literature.

Consequently, the Examinations Syndicate Boards accepted Shona as an examinable language in 1962.

Among the writers who have contributed to the development of Shona as a language are Patrick Chakaipa, now the Catholic Archbishop of Salisbury, who at first dominated the Shona language literary scene with such best sellers as *Karikoga Gumiremiseve*, *Primo reRopa*, *Garandichauya* and others, John Marangwanda with *Kumaziva Ndadzoka* and Paul Chidyausiku with *Nyadzi Dzinokunda Rufu* and *Nhoroondo Dzokuwana*.

That was before other best sellers entered the

scene — Giles Kuimba's *Gehena Harina Moto* and *Tambaoga Mwanangu*, Jane Chifamba's *Ngano Dzepasichigare*, Charles Mungoshi's *Makumun'unu Maodzamwoyo* and Ndiko Kupindana *kwamasuva* and others. Many new authors have since emerged.

Ndebele writers include Isaac Mpofo, one of the first who wrote *Akusoka Lingasidzi*.

In later years poetry, drama and books on riddles, proverbs and tradition were produced by such well-known prolific writers as Aaron Hodza and the late Wilson Chivaura.

Today, as a result, the flow of literary material is so great that it has outstripped the Literature Bureau's production capacity.

Other publishing houses, such as Mambo Press and Longman Zimbabwe, have had to handle a number of manuscripts to relieve the pressure on the bureau.

Mr David Hlazo, acting Bureau Chief Publications Officer, suggested last week that it was time Zimbabwe projected its cultural and literary heritage outside its borders by encouraging film companies to convert some of its local literature into films.

He said that by virtue of their purely Zimbabwean rural, traditional and historical background and setting, books like Giles Kuimba's *Tambaoga Mwanangu*, Ignatius Zvarevashe's *Gona Wapotera* and N. M. Muto's *Mapatya* were good material for filming. They provide a unique historical reflection of true Zimbabwean life before the advent of the white man.

Mr Hlazo said it was unfortunate that Ndebele had not yet been accepted as an examinable language. Ndebele was still regarded as a sub-dialect

of Zulu although the two languages had become quite unlike.

However, the Examinations Syndicate Boards felt that because it still didn't have a dictionary and language study books, Ndebele had not yet developed enough to justify acceptability as an examinable language. The issue was still being looked into, a spokesman said.

Mr Hlazo also said with the advent of independence, the Ministry of Education and Culture was keen to look into the development of small sub-dialects of both Shona and Ndebele, such as Tonga, Sengwe, Bunji, Budya, Venda and Kalanga.

## TEN-YEAR PERSPECTIVE FOR ECONOMY GIVEN

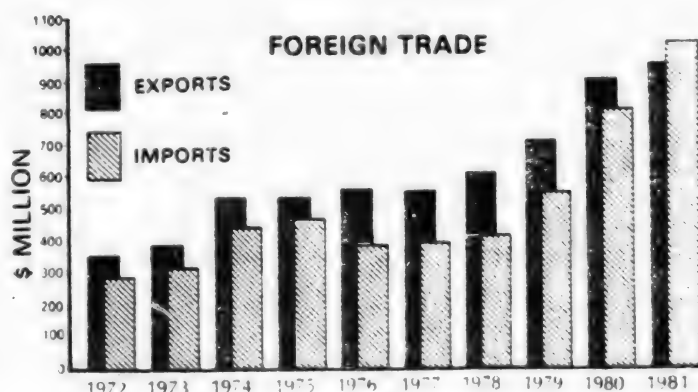
Salisbury THE FINANCIAL GAZETTE in English 12 Mar 82 p 7

[Text]

THE RAL annual report contained an additional bonus which made it more interesting than the average annual company report — a 10-year perspective of the Zimbabwe economy, complete with detailed graphs. The *Financial Gazette* is reproducing the perspective with RAL's permission.

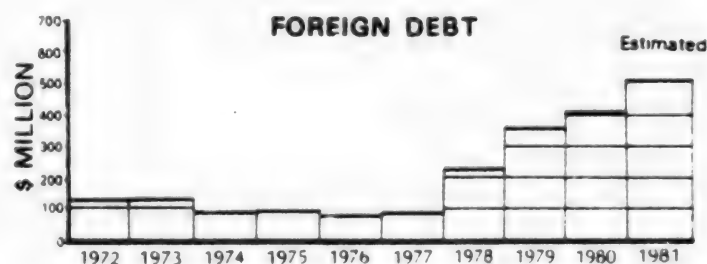
The value of imports exceeded exports for the first time since 1968 . . .

Transport bottlenecks were largely responsible for a decline in the volume of exports while the volume of imports rose sharply.



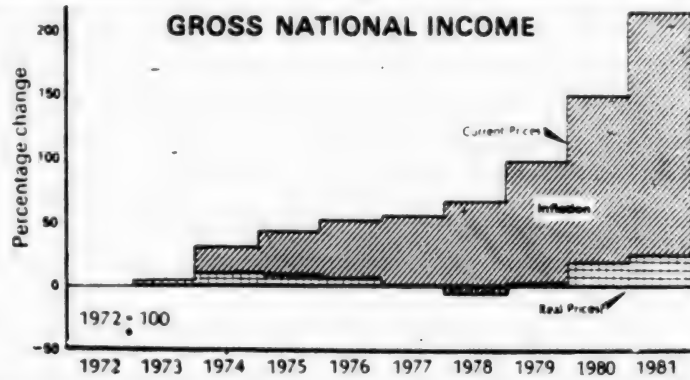
. . . but increased foreign borrowings reduced the balance of payments deficit . . .

In addition, short term borrowings abroad by the Reserve Bank helped to bolster declining reserves. However, total foreign borrowings fell well short of export revenue.



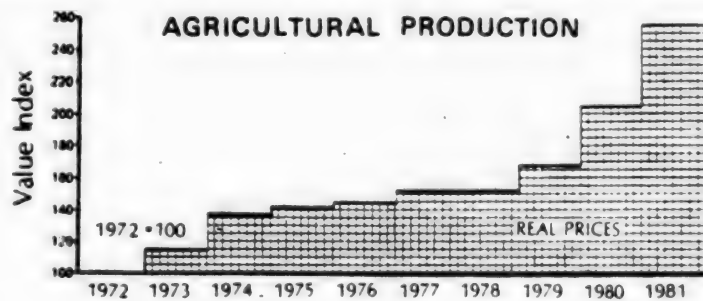
... and contributed to significant real growth in national income.

Gross National Income increased in real terms for the third year in succession.



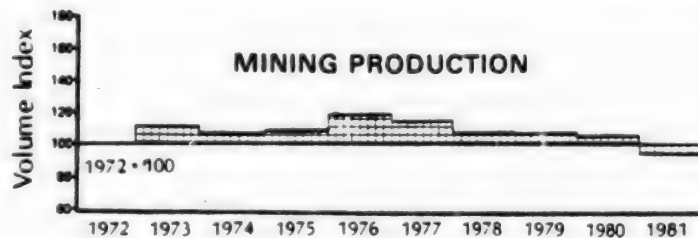
A record agricultural harvest during 1981...

Production of maize more than doubled to reach three million tonnes making up more than 50% of agricultural output.



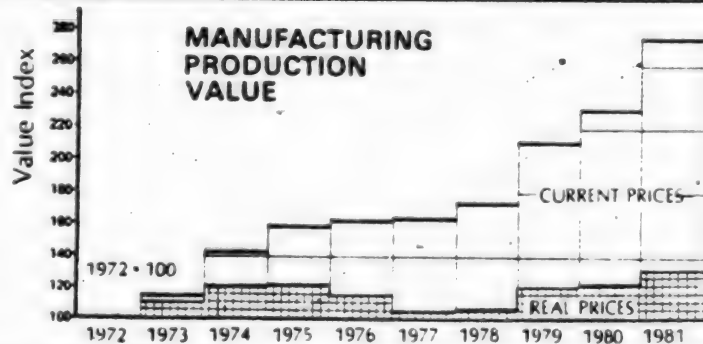
... more than offset a decline in the volume of mineral output...

The output of the mining industry was adversely affected by depressed mineral prices on the world market.



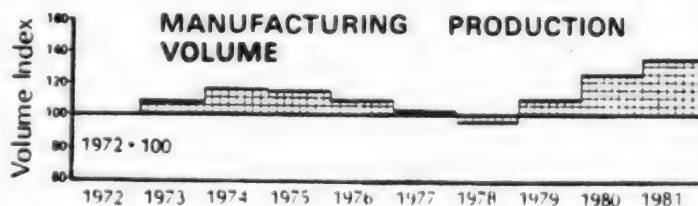
... and was augmented by a real increase in the value...

Manufacturers responded to increased consumer demand and the need to improve productivity following upon the introduction of higher minimum wages.



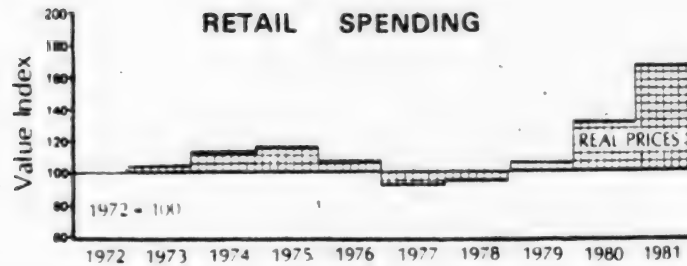
... and volume of manufactured goods produced.

Nevertheless, the demand for manufactured goods outstripped the sector's ability to produce.



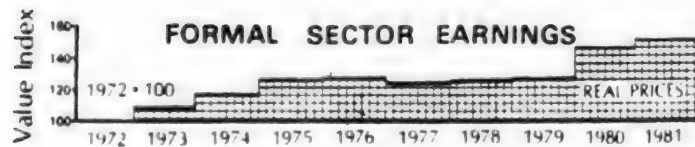
**Consumer spending reached  
new heights in 1981 . . .**

Large increases in consumer expenditure during the last three years can be attributed to higher wage levels, increases in consumer credit and the use of funds saved during the war years.



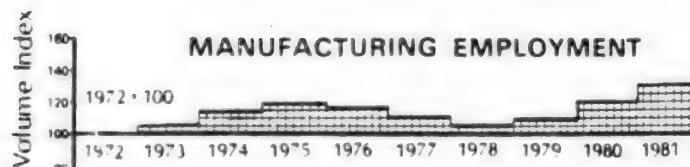
**. . . partly as a result of  
increased earnings . . .**

Total earnings in the cash economy rose significantly in 1980 and 1981 in real terms mainly as a result of minimum wage legislation introduced in those years.



**. . . accompanied by growth in  
several sectors, particularly  
manufacturing . . .**

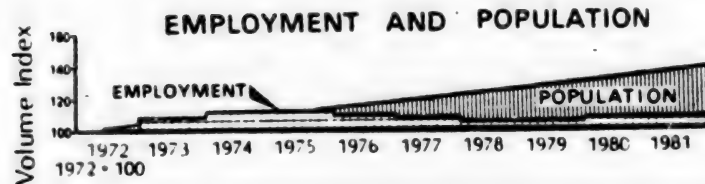
Employment in the manufacturing sector increased during 1980 and 1981 to accommodate rising consumer demand for manufactured goods.





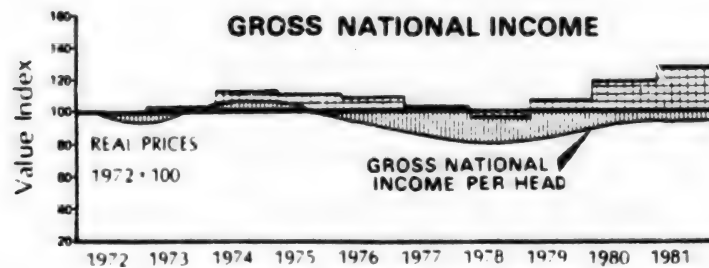
... however, overall employment levels remained almost static ...

Employment levels rose in most sectors of the economy during 1981 but these increases were largely negated by a decrease in the numbers employed in the agricultural sector.



... while increasing population partly absorbed the benefits of economic growth.

If the standard of living of the majority of the population is to be improved the level of economic growth achieved during 1981 will have to be maintained or improved on, in future years.



CSO: 4700/971

## BRIEFS

SWITCH TO ZANU (PF)--The defections of more than 90 members of ZAPU in the Gatooma district have been reported. All have joined ZANU (PF). The village committee chairman of Kuwirirana branch in the Sanyati communal area, Mr Francis Mazorodze, said 50 of the defectors were from his area and had joined ZANU (PF) over the weekend. At the same time 15 farm labourers from Milverton Estate near Gatooma had also defected as had a further 25 from other farms in the neighbourhood.--ZIS [Text] [Salisbury THE HERALD in English 12 Mar 82 p 5]

RF CANDIDATE--Bulawayo--The Republican Front party, Matabeleland division, selected a candidate for the Western constituency by-election at a meeting last night but will not release his name until Monday. The reason for concealing his identity for the time being is because he was not one of those on the panel recently vetted by the party's national standing committee, Mr James, chairman of the division, said. "This young man is an excellent choice, but the standing committee has to study the nomination and approve it. Mr Geoff Kluckow, national chairman, will have to call a quick meeting and get the full committee's view before I can release his name," Mr James said. "Mr Kluckow insisted that we did not release the name just yet," Mr James said. The other two candidates are the Democratic Party's man, Mr Bill McLeod, and a Bulawayo engineer and miner, Mr Lawrence Bronson, an independent. Nomination day is on Tuesday, March 16. The election will be on April 7. [Text] [Salisbury THE HERALD in English 13 Mar 82 p 3]

GOVERNMENT BUYS LAND--New notices gazetted yesterday show the Government is buying another 60 000 ha for resettlement, bringing the total this year to more than 455 000 ha. Yesterday's notices, announcing the Government's intention to cancel the deeds of transfer and grant, covered properties in 10 districts with Que Que (16 318 ha), Mtoko (12 776 ha), Darwin (8 130,614 ha) and Bulalima-Mangwe (7 026, 577 ha) being the major four. Unlike commercial transfers the deeds are not transferred when the Government buys the land for resettlement, but are cancelled. [Text] [Salisbury THE HERALD in English 13 Mar 82 p 3]

NDLOVU NOT ARRESTED--The ZAPU Member of Parliament for Matabeleland South, Mr Akim Ndlovu, has not been arrested as reported on Sunday. In fact, said a Government spokesman yesterday, the Central Intelligence Organisation is not even looking for him. [Text] [Salisbury THE HERALD in English 16 Mar 82 p 4]

BRITISH AID--British aid is to be used to buy equipment to clear landmines that still hinder agricultural and other development in Zimbabwe. The British High Commission in Salisbury announced yesterday that \$461 000 of British Zimcord aid for reconstruction would be used to buy the equipment for the national army. It would be used to buy two D7 Terex Crawler tractors, two Ford tractors and three Turner Hydramower flails. Orders for the equipment had already been placed on behalf of the Zimbabwe Government by the Crown Agents. ZNA engineers would be using the equipment in Operation Safeguard due to begin at the end of the rainy season. The Turner Hydramower flail has been specially developed for use in Zimbabwe during trials conducted by the British Army Royal Engineers on behalf of the Zimbabwe army engineers. [Text] [Salisbury THE HERALD in English 3 Mar 82 p 1]

SOCIALISM DEFENDED--The church can help counter the untruths, prejudices, crude stories and myths about Zimbabwean socialism. The Deputy Prime Minister, Mr Simon Muzenda, told the Association of (Catholic) Diocesan Priests of Gwelo at the Gokomere Training School, Fort Victoria, yesterday that these rumours were being spread nationally and internationally. He called on the priests to tell their followers that there was nothing sinister about Zimbabwean socialism. They could help the Government by re-orientating people from capitalism towards the principles and ethos of a socialist and egalitarian society. On rural missions the church could help persuade peasants to see the benefits of agricultural cooperatives and it could continue participating in the Government's reconstruction programmes. "My Government would like to thank all the churches which have initiated and completed reconstruction projects." Mr Muzenda said Zimbabwean socialism was a "war" to systematically improve the living conditions of peasants and working people. It was much more difficult, protracted and complex than "our last liberation war." [Text] [Salisbury THE HERALD in English 10 Mar 82 p 7]

'SUPERSONIC' PROMOTION--Bulawayo--The new Minister of Transport, Mr Farai Masango, said here yesterday he wanted black advancement on the railways accelerated from its "snail's pace" to "supersonic pace." "I would have liked a black general manager installed soon after independence," he said in answer to an interview. "I would also have liked to see a black chief mechanical engineer and a black chief civil engineer put into office at that time." But to another question he said he would put no time schedule to these targets. "This is not something that will be brought about overnight." The minister, a railwayman himself and former diesel locomotive driver, said he wanted African advancement on the railways accelerated "from top to bottom." The minister was in Bulawayo on a familiarisation tour. He will continue his inspection of railway departments and installations here today. [Text] [Salisbury THE HERALD in English 16 Mar 82 p 1]

UK RESETTLEMENT AID--Britain and Zimbabwe yesterday signed aid agreements to finance five resettlement schemes for 2 600 families, costing \$8 million. Britain will pay half the cost. The documents were signed by the Minister of Lands, Resettlement and Rural Development, Mr Moven Mahachi, and the British High Commissioner to Zimbabwe, Mr Robin Byatt, at the minister's office in Salisbury. Twenty-two such agreements have now been signed involving the resettlement of 8 700 families at a cost of \$11 million. The schemes covered by yesterday's agreement are Chizvirizvi in the Sangwe communal land; Sessombi near Que Que; Nyahombe in the Chibi district; Romsley in the Inyazura district and the Devuli resettlement scheme south of Bikita--a total of 220 000 ha. The agreements all fall under the British-Zimbabwe land resettlement grant of 1981. [Text] [Salisbury THE HERALD in English 16 Mar 82 p 7]

LOANS FOR CO-OPS--The Provincial Agritex officer for Mrewa, Mr Chris Sharman has urged peasant farmers in the area to form cooperatives in order to increase productivity. Addressing communal farmers and school children at Nyamuhumbu village, near Mrewa Centre, Mr Sharman said co-operatives made it easier for the Government to give both financial and material support to communal farmers. "Selfish elements who do not want to form co-operatives and are hampering the country's progress must know that the Agricultural Finance Corporation (AFC) will not give loans to individuals but to co-operatives only." He said all the money that was allocated for farmers would be channelled through AFC to only those co-operatives that were prepared to see the country prosper and become self-reliant. [Text] [Salisbury THE HERALD in English 15 Mar 82 p 9]

MAKES WAY FOR BLACK--The Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of Agriculture, Mr Ted Osborne, is to retire at the end of April at the request of the Public Service Commission to make way for a black person. Announcing this yesterday Mr Osborne said he was "happy" to accept the Government's request that he resign. He said he believed it was in the best interests of the agricultural industry and the country that the running of the ministry be in the hands of a black. Mr Osborne, whose nearly seven years as permanent secretary to the minister make him the longest serving ministry head, is due to retire in 10 years time. "No, I have not voluntarily resigned, but I am perfectly happy to do so as it is in the interests of good government," he said. The ministry's task involved a great deal of contact with people throughout the country and he believed that the ministry would perform this task better with a black secretary.--Ziana [Text] [Salisbury THE HERALD in English 16 Mar 82 p 3]

CSO: 4700/971

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 April 2, 1982